No. 3 ● JANUARY 27, 1986 ISSN 0206—1473

NEW TIMES

A SOVIET WEEKLY OF WORLD AFFAIRS

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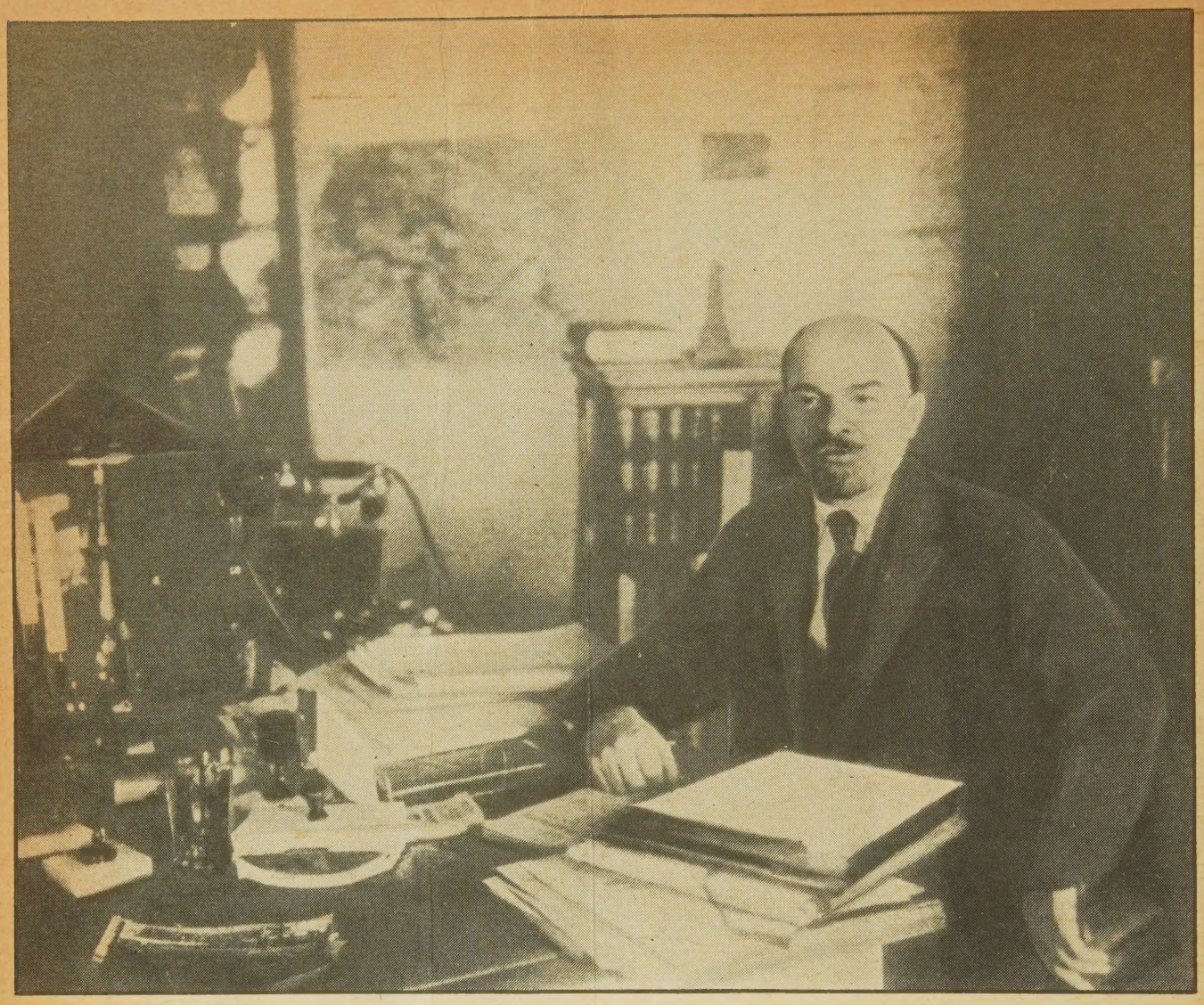
STATEMENT BY CPSU GENERAL SECRETARY MIKHAIL GORBACHEV

FREE AT LAST...

MARTIN LUTHER KING CALLS TO THE LIVING



October 4, 1922. Lenin came to his office at 9.30 a.m. The extra half hour was a reluctant concession to his doctors. He glanced through the newspapers. The secretary on duty informed him that the newspapers wanted a photograph of him now that he was back at work after his illness. The photographer was waiting. Who could have guessed that this would be the last photograph of Lenin in his Kremlin office?

What were his thoughts at this time?

It was not until many years later that the date of that photo was established. The copy of the Izvestia lying on the desk gave the clue and also helped trace the documents that give some inkling of Lenin's thoughts at this juncture.

The first thing he did on arriving in his office was to ask for the figures of the grain procurements in the basic areas. The country lay in ruins, Russia was in the grip of famine. And for life to go on, bread, fuel and power were needed. The problem of supplying the Donbas had to be solved at once, and the situation in the coal belt and at the Baku oil fields had to be ascertained without delay.

Few people know that another portrait of Lenin appeared at this time. Oscar Cesare, an American artist, had expressed the wish to do it. Lenin had declined at first—he disliked to pose. But when he learned that the artist intended to donate the proceeds from the sale of the portrait to the fund in aid of starving Russian children he consented.

2 p.m. A rest period prescribed by the doctors. Lenin leaves his office, taking with him a folder of papers. Then back to the office. Meetings, telephone calls, interviews. . . . On October 6 the relations between the various constituent republics are discussed at a plenary meeting of the Central Committee. What was Lenin's position on the matter? The creation of a Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the basis of voluntary association. Perhaps he was thinking about this—indeed, he must have been— on the evening of the 10th, when he presided at a meeting of the Council of People's Commissars where a code of civil laws, a code of human rights, was examined.

One more brief autumn day gone by. Before leaving his office after 9 p.m. Lenin rereads the draft of the negotiations with America on the question of rapprochement. He turns over another leaf in the calendar. . . . Now it is November 13. The last film of Lenin in his lifetime is made. And now it is November 20. His last public speech. The winter days grow darker, and the fateful evening in January 1924 draws ever nearer.

Night. The green lamp on the desk lights up a letter addressed to a group of French writers and expressing the hope that their organization will grow stronger not only numerically, but also spiritually, in the sense of intensifying and spreading the struggle against imperialist war.

"It is worth devoting one's whole life to the struggle against this kind of war," Lenin wrote. "It is a struggle in which one must be ruthless and chase to the furthermost corners of the earth all the sophistry that is uttered in its defence."

He reads it over again, makes some corrections in the French text and signs it.

That letter, like the whole of his life, is a message for posterity.

STATEMENT

BY CPSU GENERAL SECRETARY

MIKHAIL GORBACHEV

The new year 1986 is getting into its stride. It will be an important year, one can say a turning point in the history of the Soviet state, the year of the 27th Congress of the CPSU. The congress will chart the guidelines for the political, social, economic and spiritual development of Soviet society in the period up to the next millennium. It will adopt a programme for accelerating our peaceful construction.

All efforts of the CPSU are directed towards ensuring a further improvement in the life of the Soviet people.

A turn for the better is also needed in the international arena. This is the expectation and the demand of the peoples of the Soviet Union and of the peoples throughout the world.

Being aware of this, at the start of the new year the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet government have adopted a decision on a number of major foreign policy actions of a fundamental nature. They are designed to promote to a maximum degree an improvement in the international situation. They are prompted by the need to overcome the negative confrontational trends that have been growing in recent years and to clear the way to curbing the nuclear arms race on earth and preventing it in outer space, to an overall reduction of the risk of war, and to the building of confidence as an integral part of relations among states.

I.

The most important of these actions is a concrete programme aimed at the complete elimination of nuclear weapons throughout the world and covering a precisely defined period of time.

The Soviet Union is proposing a step-by-step and consistent process of ridding the earth of nuclear weapons, to be implemented and completed within the next 15 years, before the end of this century.

The 20th century has given mankind the energy of the atom. However, this great achievement of the human mind can become an instrument of self-annihilation of mankind.

Is it possible to solve this contradiction? We are convinced that it is. Finding effective ways to eliminate nuclear weapons is a feasible task, provided it is tackled without delay.

The Soviet Union proposes that beginning with 1986 a programme for ridding mankind of the fear of a nuclear catastrophe be carried out. And the fact that this year has been proclaimed by the United Nations the International Year of Peace provides an additional political and moral incentive for this. What is required here is to rise above national selfishness, tactical calculations, differences and disputes, which mean next to nothing compared with the preservation of the greatest value of all—peace and a secure future. The energy of the atom should be placed exclusively at the service of peace; this is something our socialist state has invariably advocated and continues to advocate.

It was our country that as early as in 1946 was the first to raise the question of prohibiting the production and use of atomic weapons and making atomic energy serve peaceful purposes for the benefit of mankind.

How does the Soviet Union envisage today in practical terms the process of reducing nuclear weapons, both delivery vehicles and warheads, all the way to their complete elimination? Our proposals may be summarized as follows.

Stage One. Within the next 5-8 years the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. will reduce by one half the nuclear arms that can reach each other's territory. On the remaining delivery vehicles of this kind each side will retain no more than 6,000 warheads.

It stands to reason that such a reduction is possible only if the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. mutually renounce the development, testing and deployment of space strike weapons. As the Soviet Union has repeatedly warned, the development of space strike weapons will dash the hopes for a reduction of nuclear weapons on earth.

The first stage will include the adoption and implementation of the decision on the complete elimination of intermediate-range missiles of the U.S.S.R.

and the U.S.A. in the European zone, both ballistic and cruise missiles, as a first step towards ridding the European continent of nuclear weapons.

At the same time the United States should undertake not to transfer its strategic and medium-range missiles to other countries, while Britain and France should pledge not to build up their relevant nuclear arms.

The U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. should from the very beginning agree to stop all nuclear explosions and call upon other states to join in such a moratorium as soon as possible.

We propose that the first stage of nuclear disarmament involve the Soviet Union and the United States because it is they that should set an example for the other nuclear powers. We put this very frankly to U.S. President Ronald Reagan during our meeting in Geneva.

Stage Two. At this stage, which should start no later than 1990 and last for 5-7 years, the other nuclear powers will begin to join in the nuclear disarmament. To begin with, they would pledge to freeze all their nuclear arms and not to have them in the territories of other countries.

In this period the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. will go on with the reductions agreed upon during the first stage and also carry out further measures designed to eliminate their medium-range nuclear weapons and freeze their tactical nuclear systems.

Following the completion by the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. of the 50 per cent reduction in their relevant arms at the second stage, another radical step is taken: all nuclear powers eliminate their tactical nuclear arms, namely, the weapons having a range (or radius of action) of up to 1,000 km.

At the same stage the Soviet-American accord on the prohibition of space strike weapons would have to become multilateral, with the obligatory participation in it of major industrial powers.

All nuclear powers would stop nuclear weapons tests.

There would be a ban on the development of non-nuclear weapons based on new physical principles, whose destructive capacity is close to that of nuclear or other weapons of mass destruction.

Stage Three will begin not later than 1995. At this stage the elimination of all remaining nuclear weapons will be completed. By the end of 1999 there will be no nuclear weapons on earth. There will be universal agreement that such weapons should never again reappear.

We have in mind that special procedures will be worked out for the destruction of nuclear weapons as well as the dismantling, reequipment or destruction of delivery vehicles. In the process, agreement will be reached on the numbers of weapons to be destroyed at each stage, the sites of their destruction, and so on.

Verification with regard to the weapons that are destroyed or limited would be carried out both by national technical means and through on-site inspection. The U.S.S.R. is ready to reach agreement on any other additional verification measures.

The adoption of the nuclear disarmament programme we propose would undoubtedly have a favourable impact on the negotiations conducted at bilateral and multilateral forums. The programme would specify definite routes and reference points, establish a definite timetable for reaching and implementing agreements and make the negotiations purposeful and to the point. This would reverse the dangerous tendency for the momentum of the arms race to be greater than the progress of negotiations.

In summary, we propose entering the third millennium without nuclear weapons, on the basis of mutually acceptable and strictly verifiable agreements. If the United States Administration is really committed to the goal of completely eliminating nuclear weapons everywhere, as it has repeatedly stated, it is being offered a practical opportunity to begin working towards this goal. Instead of wasting the next 10-15 years developing new, extremely dangerous weapons in space, allegedly designed to make nuclear arms useless, would it not be more sensible to start eliminating those arms and finally bring them down to zero? The Soviet Union, I repeat, proposes precisely that.

The Soviet Union calls upon all peoples and states and, naturally, above all nuclear states, to support the programme of eliminating nuclear weapons before the year 2000. It is absolutely clear to any unbiased person that if such a programme is implemented nobody would lose and everybody would gain. This is a problem confronting all mankind and it can and must be solved only through common efforts. And the sooner this programme is translated into practical deeds, the safer will be life on our planet.

II.

Guided by the same approach and the desire to make another practical step within the context of the programme of nuclear disarmament, the Soviet Union has taken an important decision.

We are extending by 3 months our unilateral moratorium on all nuclear explosions, which expired on December 31, 1985. This moratorium will remain in effect even beyond that if the United States, for its part, also stops nuclear tests. We propose once again to the United States to join this initiative, significance of which is obvious to literally everyone in the world.

It is clear that for us to take such a decision was not a simple matter. The Soviet Union cannot display unilateral restraint with regard to nuclear tests ad infinitum. But the stakes are too high and the responsibility too great for us not to take every opportunity to influence the position of others through the force of example.

All experts, scientists, politicians and military men agree that the cessation of tests would indeed close the channels for upgrading nuclear weapons. And this task has top priority. A reduction of nuclear arsenals alone, without the prohibition of nuclear weapons tests, does not offer to do away with the nuclear threat, since the remaining weapons would be modernized and there would still remain the possibility of developing increasingly sophisticated and lethal nuclear weapons and trying out new types of these weapons at test ranges.

Consequently, the cessation of tests is a practical step towards eliminating nuclear weapons.

I wish to say this in advance: possible references to verification as an obstacle to a moratorium on nuclear explosions would be totally groundless. We declare unequivocally that as far as we are concerned verification is no problem. Should the United States agree to stop all nuclear explosions on a reciprocal basis, appropriate verification of compliance with the moratorium would be fully ensured by national technical means as well as through international procedures—

including on-site inspection whenever necessary. We invite the U.S.A. to reach agreement to this effect.

The U.S.S.R. is strongly in favour of the moratorium becoming a bilateral, and later a multilateral action. We are also in favour of resuming the trilateral negotiations involving the U.S.S.R., the U.S.A. and Great Britain on the complete and general prohibition of nuclear weapons tests. This could be done immediately, even this month. We are also prepared to begin without delay multilateral test ban negotiations within the framework of the Geneva Conference on Disarmament, with all nuclear powers taking part.

Non-aligned countries are proposing consultations with a view to making the 1963 Moscow Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Under Water apply also to underground tests, which are not covered by the treaty. The Soviet Union agrees to this measure too.

Since last summer we have been calling upon the United States to follow our example and stop nuclear explosions. Washington has not yet done so despite the protests and demands of public opinion, and contrary to the will of most countries in the world. By continuing to explode more and more nuclear devices the U.S. side continues to pursue its illusory dream of military superiority. This policy is futile and dangerous, a policy which is not worthy of the level of civilization that modern society has reached.

In the absence of a positive response from the United States, the Soviet side had every right to resume nuclear tests already on January 1, 1986. If one were to follow the usual "logic" of the arms race, that, presumably, would have been the thing to do.

But the point is that it is precisely this dubious logic that has to be resolutely repudiated. We are making yet another attempt in this direction. Otherwise the process of military rivalry will become an avalanche and any control over the course of events will be impossible. To submit to the blind force of the nuclear race is inadmissible. This would mean acting against the voice of reason and the human instinct of self-preservation. What is needed are new and bold approaches, a new political thinking and a heightened sense of responsibility for the destinies of the peoples.

The U.S. Administration is once again given more time to weigh our proposals on stopping nuclear explosions and to give a positive answer to them. It is precisely this kind of response that people everywhere in the world expect from Washington.

The Soviet Union is addressing an appeal to the President and Congress of the United States, to the American people. There exists an opportunity to halt the process of upgrading nuclear arms and developing new types of such weapons. This opportunity must not be missed. The Soviet proposals place the U.S.S.R. and the United States in an equal position. These proposals do not attempt to outwit or outsmart the other side. We propose that the road of sensible and responsible decisions be taken.

III.

In order to implement the programme of reducing and eliminating nuclear arsenals, the entire existing system of negotiations has to be set in motion and the highest possible efficiency of disarmament machinery ensured.

In a few days the Soviet-American talks on nuclear and space arms will resume in Geneva. When we met with President Reagan last November at Geneva, we had a frank discussion on the whole range of problems that constitute the subject of those negotiations, namely on space, strategic offensive arms and intermediate-range nuclear systems. It was agreed that the negotiations should be accelerated and that agreement must not remain a mere declaration of intent.

The Soviet delegation in Geneva will be instructed to act in strict compliance with that agreement. We expect the same constructive approach from the U.S. side, above all on the question of space. Space must remain peaceful, strike weapons should not be deployed there. Neither should they be developed. And let there also be a most rigorous control, including opening the relevant laboratories for inspection.

Mankind is at a crucial stage of the new space age. And it is time to abandon the thinking of the stone age, when the chief concern was to have a bigger stick or a heavier stone. We are against weapons in space. Our material and intellectual capabilities make it possible for the Soviet Union to develop any weapon if we are compelled to do this. But we are fully aware of our responsibility to the present and future generations. It is our profound conviction that we should enter the third millennium not with the "star wars" programme but with large-scale projects of peaceful exploration of space by all mankind. We propose to start practical work on such projects and their implementation. This is one of the most important ways of ensuring progress on our entire planet and establishing a reliable system of security for all.

To prevent the arms race from spreading to outer space means to remove the obstacle to far-reaching reductions in nuclear weapons. There is on the negotiating table in Geneva a Soviet proposal on reducing by one half the relevant nuclear arms of the Soviet Union and the United States, which would be an important step towards a complete elimination of nuclear weapons. To exclude the possibility of resolving the problem of space means not wanting to stop the arms race on earth. This should be stated clearly for all to hear. It is not by chance that the proponents of the nuclear arms race are also ardent supporters of the "star wars" programme. These are the two sides of the same policy, inimical to the interests of people.

Let me turn to the European aspect of the nuclear problem. It is a matter of extreme concern that in defiance of reason and contrary to the national interests of the European peoples, American first-strike missiles continue to be deployed in certain West European countries. This problem has been under discussion for many years now. Meanwhile the security situation in Europe continues to deteriorate.

It is time to put an end to this course of events and cut this Gordian knot. The Soviet Union has for a long time been proposing that Europe should be freed from both medium-range and tactical nuclear weapons. This proposal remains valid. As a first radical step in this direction we are now proposing, as I have said, that even at the first stage of our programme all medium-range ballistic and cruise missiles of the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. in the European zone should be eliminated.

Achieving tangible practical results at the Geneva talks would give meaningful material substance to the programme aimed at the complete elimination of nuclear arms by the year 2000, which we are proposing.

IV.

The Soviet Union considers that total elimination already in this century also of such barbaric weapons

of mass destruction as chemical weapons is perfectly feasible.

At the talks on chemical weapons within the framework of the Geneva Conference on Disarmament certain signs of progress have recently appeared. However, these talks have been impermissibly dragged out. We are in favour of intensifying the talks on the conclusion of an effective and verifiable international convention prohibiting chemical weapons and destroying the existing stockpiles of those weapons, as agreed with President Reagan at Geneva.

In the matter of banning chemical weapons, as in other disarmament matters, all participants in the talks should take a fresh look at things. I would like to make it perfectly clear that the Soviet Union is in favour of an early and complete elimination of those weapons as well as of the industrial base for their production. We are ready to give timely notification of the location of enterprises producing chemical weapons and to terminate their production, to start working out procedures for destroying the relevant industrial base and to proceed, soon after the convention enters into force, to eliminate the stockpiles of chemical weapons. All these measures would be carried out under strict control, including international on-site inspection.

A radical solution to this problem would also be facilitated by certain interim steps. For example, agreement could be achieved, on a multilateral basis, not to transfer chemical weapons to anyone and not to deploy them in the territories of other states. As for the Soviet Union, it has always strictly abided by these principles in its practical policies. We call upon other states to follow this example and display equal restraint.

V.

Along with eliminating the weapons of mass destruction from the arsenals of states, the Soviet Union is proposing that conventional weapons and armed forces become subject to agreed reductions.

Reaching agreement at the Vienna talks could signal the beginning of progress in this direction. Today it would seem that a framework is emerging for a possible decision on reducing Soviet and U.S. troops and subsequently freezing the level of armed forces of the opposing alliances in Central Europe. The Soviet Union and our Warsaw Treaty allies are determined to achieve success at the Vienna talks. If the other side also wants this, 1986 could become a landmark for the Vienna talks too. We are aware that a possible agreement on troop reduction would naturally require reasonable verification. We are prepared for it. As for observing the commitment to freeze the numbers of troops, in addition to national technical means permanent verification posts could be established to monitor any military contingents entering the reduction zone.

Let me now mention such an important forum as the Stockholm Conference on Confidence and Security Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe. It is called upon to place barriers against the use of force or covert preparations for war, whether on land, at sea or in the air. The possibilities have now become evident.

In our view, especially in the current situation, it is essential to reduce the numbers of troops participating in major military exercises subject to prior notification under the Helsinki Final Act.

It is time to begin dealing effectively with the problems still outstanding at the Stockholm Conference. It is known that the bottleneck there is the issue of notifications regarding major ground force, naval and air force exercises. Of course, those are serious problems and they must be tackled thoroughly, in the interests of building confidence in Europe. However, if their comprehensive solution cannot be achieved at this time, why not explore ways of their partial solution, for instance reach agreement now about notifications of major ground force and air force exercises, postponing the question of naval activities until the next stage of the Conference.

It is no mere chance that a good part of the new Soviet initiatives are directly addressed to Europe. It could have a special mission to perform in giving effect to a radical turn towards a policy of peace. That mission is to build a new edifice of détente.

For this, Europe has the necessary, in many respects unique, historical experience. Suffice it to recall that the joint efforts of the Europeans, the United States and Canada produced the Helsinki Final Act. If a specific and vivid example is needed of new thinking and political psychology in approaching the problems of peace, cooperation and international trust, that historic document could in many ways serve as such an example.

VI.

Ensuring security in Asia is of vital importance to the Soviet Union, which is a major Asian power. The Soviet programme for eliminating nuclear and chemical weapons by the end of this century is in harmony with the sentiments of the peoples of the Asian continent, for whom the problems of peace and security are no less urgent than for the peoples of Europe. In this context one cannot fail to recall that Japan, its cities Hiroshima and Nagasaki became the victims of nuclear bombing, and Vietnam a target hit by chemical weapons.

We highly appreciate the constructive initiatives put forward by the socialist countries of Asia and by India and other members of the non-aligned movement. We view as very important the fact that the two Asian nuclear powers, the U.S.S.R. and the People's Republic of China, have both undertaken not to be the first to use nuclear weapons.

The implementation of our programme would fundamentally change the situation in Asia, rid the nations in that part of the globe, too, of the fear in face of the nuclear and chemical threat, and bring the security in that region to a qualitatively new level.

We regard our programme as a contribution to a search, together with all Asian countries, for an overall comprehensive approach to establishing a system of secure and durable peace in this continent.

VII.

Our new proposals are addressed to the whole world. Initiating active steps to halt the arms race and reduce weapons is a necessary prerequisite for coping with the increasingly acute global problems—deterioration of the environment, the need to find new energy sources and combat economic backwardness, hunger and disease. The pattern imposed by militarism—arms instead of development—must be replaced by the re-

verse order of things—disarmament for development. The noose of the trillion-dollar foreign debt, which is now strangling dozens of countries and entire continents, is a direct consequence of the arms race. Over $250 billion annually siphoned out of the developing countries is the amount practically equal to the size of the mammoth U.S. military budget. Indeed, this coincidence is far from accidental.

The Soviet Union wants each measure limiting and reducing arms and each step towards eliminating nuclear weapons not only to bring nations greater security but also to make it possible to allocate more funds for improving the life of the people. It is natural that the peoples seeking to overcome their backwardness and achieve the level of industrially developed countries associate the hope of freeing themselves from the burden of foreign debt to imperialism, which is draining their economies, with the limitation and elimination of armaments, reduction of military expenditure and channelling of resources to social and economic development. This theme will undoubtedly figure most prominently at the international conference on the relation between disarmament and development to be held in Paris next summer.

The Soviet Union is opposed to making the implementation of disarmament measures dependent on the so-called regional conflicts. Behind this is both unwillingness to follow the path of disarmament and a striving to impose upon sovereign nations an alien will, an order of things making it possible to maintain profoundly unjust conditions in which some countries live at the expense of others, exploiting their natural, manpower and spiritual resources in the selfish imperial interests of certain states or aggressive blocs. The Soviet Union, as before, will continue to oppose this. It will continue consistently to stand for the freedom of the peoples, peace, security and the strengthening of international rule of law. The Soviet Union's goal is not to whip up regional conflicts but to eliminate them through collective efforts on a just basis, and the sooner the better.

Today there is no dearth of statements professing commitment to peace. What is really in short supply is concrete action to strengthen the foundations of peace. All too often lip service to peace conceals a policy of war preparations and reliance on force. Moreover, some statements made from high rostrums are in fact intended to eliminate any trace of the new —"the spirit of Geneva"—which is having a salutary effect on international relations today. It is not only a matter of statements. There are also actions clearly designed to incite animosity and mistrust and to revive confrontation, which is antithetical to détente.

We reject such a way of acting and thinking. We want 1986 to be not just a year of peace but one that would enable us to reach the end of the 20th century under the sign of peace and nuclear disarmament. The set of new foreign policy initiatives that we are proposing is intended to make it possible for mankind to approach the year 2000 under peaceful skies and with peaceful space, without fear of nuclear, chemical or any other threat of annihilation and fully confident of its own survival and of the continuation of the human race.

The new resolute measures now being taken by the Soviet Union for the sake of peace and of improving the overall international situation are the expression of the substance and the spirit of our internal and foreign policies and their organic unity. They reflect the fundamental historic law which was emphasized by Lenin. The whole world sees that our country is holding higher the banner of peace, freedom and humanism raised over our planet by the Great October Revolution.

When the issue is that of preserving peace and saving mankind from the threat of nuclear war, no one should remain indifferent or stand aloof. This concerns each and everyone. Every state, large or small, socialist or capitalist, has an important contribution to make. The contribution of every responsible political party, every public organization and every person is important.

No task is more urgent, more noble and humane than uniting all efforts to achieve this lofty goal. This task is to be accomplished by our generation without shifting it onto the shoulders of those who will succeed us. This is the imperative of our time. This, I would say, is the burden of historic responsibility we have to bear for our decisions and actions in the time remaining until the beginning of the third millennium.

The course of peace and disarmament will continue to be pivotal to the foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state. In actively pursuing this course, the Soviet Union is prepared for wide-ranging cooperation with all those who act from positions of reason, good will and an awareness of their responsibility for assuring mankind a future without wars and arms.

(Pravda, January 16, 1986)

FROM OUR MAILBAG

◆ The joint statement at Geneva has filled the hearts of millions of people with hopes for the future of mankind. There is no doubt about that. If both the U.S.S.R. and the U.S. could get along well, nothing would be better. I believe that General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev and President of the United States Ronald Reagan will know better than to start a silly war. I trust that Mr Reagan saw the side of Mr Gorbachev which he had never seen.

Isao ASHIBA
Tokyo, Japan

◆ The achievements of the Soviet Union have had and continue to have a powerful impact on the social and political situation in the world today, on international relations in general. They have had the most beneficial effect also on the development of socialism in Poland, notwithstanding the provocations engineered by Western imperialist centres. We Poles highly appreciate what we have achieved thanks to our firm alliance and fraternal cooperation with the U.S.S.R. The daily life in our country has returned to its normal rhythm, although the threat to socialism in Poland has not been completely removed. The fumes of the hypocrisy of the fifth column which reposed its hopes in American imperialism still linger in the air. But the main thing is the determination with which the Polish people are striving to overcome the difficulties.

Izydor CHOMCZYK
Warsaw, Poland

◆ U.S. Secretary of State Shultz recently accused the U.S.S.R. of violating human rights. He is not in touch with reality or he wouldn't make such statements. The giant strides made in 1917 during the revolution in Russia are strides we have yet to make. Freedom is a word often used here in the U.S. True, the U.S. is the freest country in the world. The crime rate proves it. People in this country are free to do anything they want—rape, kill, steal, plunder. There are a million children missing in the U.S., 12,000 people or more are killed yearly with handguns alone. There was a news programme on television some weeks ago showing Polish and other East European immigrants living in vacant buildings, thrown out in the streets because they could not find work.

I think something should also be said about the U.S. government's attitude towards South Africa. Backing such a regime is criminal. But as an American citizen I can honestly say it is in keeping with some very old racial attitudes and traditions here in the U.S.

Eddie G. HINES
Fargo, U.S.A.

NEW TIMES

A SOVIET WEEKLY OF WORLD AFFAIRS

No. 3, JANUARY 27, 1986
Founded 1943

Editor-in-Chief: MIKHAIL FYODOROV
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"Free at last..." reads the epitaph on the tombstone of Dr Martin Luther King, a Nobel Prize winner, murdered by racists nearly twenty years ago. His name remains a symbol of the fight to uphold the civil rights of black Americans, to eradicate the survivals of what amounts to slavery. (See p. 12.)

Design by A. Garanin
Publisher: Trud, Moscow
Published in Russian, English, French, German, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, Polish and Czech
EDITORIAL OFFICE:
Pushkin Square, Moscow, GSP, 103782, U.S.S.R.
Telephones: 229-88-72, 209-07-67 (Information)
Telex: 411164a NEWT SU, 411164b NEWT SU, 411164c NEWT SU
Cables: NEW TIMES PUSHKIN SQUARE MOSCOW
Printed in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

NEW GLOBALISM IN ACTION

ALEXANDER USVATOV

In recent years Washington has as a rule sought to justify its military activity in various parts of the world—fleet movements, the establishment of new military foreposts, and the holding of provocative war games thousands of kilometres away from its own frontiers—by proclaiming the regions concerned "zones of its vital interests." This has been the case in Central America, in the Middle East and the Persian Gulf, and in the Pacific. But this evidently is not enough for the architects of the hegemonistic policy of U.S. imperialism, for there still are areas in the world that have not been entered in the list of regions of "vital interest" to the U.S.

The latest invention of the U.S. brain trusts is the concept of New Globalism projected at giving the U.S. a free hand in all parts of the world without any exceptions. It goes the whole hog. For who knows but that the trend of developments in some country or region tomorrow will no longer suit the diehards from, say, the ultra-conservative Heritage Foundation or their spiritual kin in the Pentagon, State Department, and the White House.

Libya the Target

Official Washington entered the New Year on a high note of aggressiveness. It whipped up tension to fever pitch in the Mediterranean by levelling sharp accusations at Libya. More, the Pentagon demonstratively set its military machine in the area in motion. The aircraft carrier Coral Sea, with four squadrons of F-18 fighter bombers on board and escorted by several cruisers, destroyers and frigates, set out from Italy for Libyan coastal waters. Additional air force units and 1,800 Marines have reportedly been dispatched to the area. According to the Washington Post, Pentagon staffers have been working overtime to select possible targets, from anti-aircraft batteries to oil refineries, for bombing in Libya. The frenzied flurry is pivoted on the alleged involvement of Libya in the terrorist bomb explosions at the end of last year at the El Al Israel Airlines facilities at the Rome and Vienna airports.

There is of course no justification for terrorism in any form whatsoever, be it attacks on airline passengers or tourists, kidnapping of diplomats or journalists, or hijacking of planes or ships. It must be resolutely condemned and uprooted. The last U.N. General Assembly session unanimously adopted a special resolution on the question. What is needed is concerted effort by the world community to put an end once and for all to all terrorist acts involving the senseless killing of innocent people and disrupting the normal course of international contacts.

But why the accusations levelled against Libya? After all, it has officially, in a letter to the U.N. Secretary-General, condemned the terrorist acts in Rome and Vienna and other similar outrages, and denied its involvement in them.

Nevertheless, Tel Aviv and Washington continue to insist that Libya is sheltering a certain head of a Middle East terrorist group and is providing terrorists with bases. It is in place to recall that when an Egyptian plane was hijacked to Malta in late November and 60 passengers were killed as a result of the Egyptian-American "rescue" operation, "reliable sources" maintained that the man in question was living in Tripoli and even gave the name of the hotel and the number of the room he supposedly occupied. But when American newsmen, who are in no way prevented from carrying out their professional duties in Libya, rushed to the address, they found, much to their surprise, that the hotel room was occupied by a well-known African lawyer.

This time the U.S. State Department issued on January 8 a white paper on Libya. Although it was advertised in advance as containing proof of Libya's involvement in "international terrorism," news analysts have failed to find anything of the kind in it. A BBC correspondent, for instance, said it contained nothing new, amounting to a reiteration of previous unsubstantiated accusations. The promised photographs and "incontrovertible facts" were missing.

The Americans also put their allies in an embarrassing position. "The United States maintains it has proof of the complicity of Libya in terrorist activities," Japanese Foreign Minister Shintaro Abe said at a Tokyo press conference. "We, however, know of no such proof."

Washington has long been intriguing against Gaddafi-led Libya. Why? Because the Jamahiriya ("state of the masses"), as Libya terms itself, has been pursuing an independent anti-imperialist policy ever since the overthrow of the monarchy in 1969. The United States had to evacuate from that country its biggest Middle East air base, Wheelus Field, as far back as 1970 (Britain too had to dismantle its base). Later state control was established over the Libyan oil resources, depriving the foreign monopolies of the possibility of disposing of them at will. Libya actively supports the national liberation movements, is sharply critical of the U.S. Middle East policy of backing the Israeli aggressors, and does not accept the Camp David policy of separate deals between the Arabs and Tel Aviv.

Because of this, Washington has repeatedly had recourse in recent years to all manner of anti-Libyan actions. U.S. air force planes have on many occasions intruded into Libyan air space and Sixth Fleet ships have staged provocative exercises just outside the limits of the country's territorial waters. In August 1981, U.S. fighters shot down two Libyan patrol planes over the Gulf of Sidra. And time and again the press has carried reports about plans drawn up by the CIA for undermining and even overthrowing the existing Libyan regime, including the assassination of its leader.

As the New York Times has observed, this is the third time in the five years of his presidency that Reagan has considered a military strike at Libya.

So far the order for such a strike has not been issued. Perhaps the Washington top echelons have realized that Libya is not Grenada and that an attack on it would not be a walkover. As the F.R.G. Westdeutsche Allgemeine has observed, "the Libyan army has long been equipped with the most up-to-date defensive arsenal."

Economic Aggression

Then came the two presidential orders of January 7 and 8, imposing total trade and economic sanctions on Libya supposedly to ward off a "threat" to U.S. national security and

foreign policy. An across-the-board embargo was laid on all economic and commercial contacts. Americans working in Libya were told to leave the country to escape prolonged imprisonment and huge fines. Finally, all Libyan assets in U.S. banks and their subsidiaries, estimated at "hundreds of millions of dollars," were frozen. In a word, a veritable economic aggression was mounted against a sovereign state. More, the White House urged its allies to join in the sanctions.

No wonder the Libyan public has qualified this call for international boycott of their country as a measure politically equivalent to the declaration of war.

But if Washington sought to isolate Libya by these brazen actions, it was actually the United States that found itself in virtual isolation.

To begin with, the entire Arab world was swept by a wave of anti-American protest, while sympathy and solidarity with Libya grew even in those Arab countries whose relations with Tripoli have been strained for various reasons.

"This was the reaction of the Arab world to the tough stand taken by the Reagan Administration, which is trying to reduce the Palestine problem to a 'fight against terrorism,' " the Cairo correspondent of the Japanese Asahi wrote. "A manifestation of this sentiment was the unanimous condemnation of the imperialist and Zionist pressure on Libya at the session of the Islamic Conference, which previously rarely evinced such unity of views." It should be noted that among the more than 40 participants in this organization there are such allies of the U.S. as Turkey and Pakistan. The brazen anti-Libyan campaign mounted by the U.S. Administration, the British Guardian has commented, induced even those Arab countries to support Libya which in other circumstances might not have done so.

As regards America's West European allies, practically all of them declined to join the boycott. For one thing, they have far wider and more diversified trade and economic ties with Libya than the U.S. has. According to press reports, F.R.G. imports from Libya in 1984 amounted to $2 billion and those of Italy, which obtains from there 40 per cent of the oil it consumes, to more than $2.5 billion. The trade and economic contacts between Britain and Libya are considerable, despite the fact that their diplomatic relations were broken off in 1984. More than 12,000 Italians, some 5,000 British, and more than 1,500 specialists from the F.R.G. work in Libya.

The refusal of London, Bonn, Paris, Rome, Madrid and Lisbon to join in the American sanctions is hardly attributable only to their extensive economic ties with Tripoli. Evidently no small part was played by the unwillingness of West Europeans in general endlessly to fall in with the United States' imperial ambitions to the detriment of their own interests in the most diverse spheres, and not least of all in the political.

The U.S. Journal of Commerce believes that the discriminatory measures introduced by the White House will boomerang primarily against the American firms and corporations that, despite the substantial drop in trade with Libya in recent years, have nevertheless continued their operations there.

Perhaps most concerned over their future are the U.S. nationals working in Libya. According to various sources, they number from 1,000 to 1,500, most of them engineers, other technical experts, and managerial personnel engaged in the oil industry. They earn high wages and have no desire to return to the United States where they, especially those of middle age and older, might not find work (as a matter of fact, many of them left for Libya because they were unemployed).

Double Standard

The trade and economic bludgeon is no new addition to Washington's political and strategic arsenal. How many times has it accused the Soviet Union and other countries of being guided in their foreign trade not by commercial but by political considerations! The fact, however, is that it is the U.S. Administration, so fond of preaching about "free trade" and the "sanctity of private enterprise," that, flouting these much-vaunted principles, uses trade as an instrument of political pressure. As for the "sanctity of private enterprise," the American businessmen are told with whom they may and may not do business. Recall the repeated embargoes on trade in one or another kind of goods with the Soviet Union and Poland. Or the breaking off of all economic relations with Nicaragua last year.

On the other hand, Washington is not taking, and does not intend to take any sanctions to speak of against the apartheid regime which oppresses and terrorizes the 25 million black Africans of South Africa. Such is the U.S. Administration's double standard in international affairs.

Nor does Washington sound the alarm when nearly every day people in Southern Lebanon fall victim to Israeli brigandage, and when on the occupied Arab territories the entire Palestinian population has for nearly two decades now been trampled upon by the Israeli terrorist state. On the contrary, as if in reward, Tel Aviv is receiving growing military and economic aid and support from the United States.

Despair, hopelessness and the tragic conditions in which the Palestinians are forced to live—this is the soil that breeds Middle East extremism and terrorism. And the absence of a just settlement of the Middle East crisis, of a solution of its central problem, that of ensuring the lawful rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to their own statehood, aggravates and stimulates these phenomena. Who is to blame for all this is no secret: the strategic allies in the Middle East, Israel and the United States.

The direct cause of the mounting tension in various parts of the world is the U.S. policy of interfering in the affairs of sovereign states, its New Globalism. When the policy, views and way of life of a country does not suit Washington it resorts to the threat or use of force, to subversion or terroristic undeclared wars. In Nicaragua this is done through the contras, in Afghanistan, the dushmans, and in Angola, the UNITA bands.

By its talk about "combating international terrorism," of which Libya is now being accused for purposes of provocation, Washington is covering up its own policy of state terrorism, a policy inimical to all peoples and primarily those of the Middle East. As can be seen from the threatening statements made by leading Washington spokesmen, the danger of a U.S. armed strike against Libya has not been removed.

The Soviet Union strongly condemns the United States' hostile anti-Libyan campaign, economic sanctions and demonstrative war preparations against this independent Arab country. Soviet leading circles, a TASS statement published on January 10 says, trust that a sober understanding of the existing realities will prevail in the United States, that it will carefully weigh the dangerous consequences the continued pursuance of its policy with regard to the sovereign Libyan state could have and will display the restraint the peoples of the world expect of it. ■

NICARAGUA

MORE U.S. HOSTILE MOVES

Hardly a day passes without some hostile act against Nicaragua being committed by the U.S. and its hirelings. People in Managua and other cities are still outraged by the shooting down, with a U.S. missile fired from Honduran territory, of a Nicaraguan plane, as a result of which 14 people died. The National Assembly condemned the aggressive actions of the United States and demanded that they be stopped. As usual, the protests went unheeded. In mid-December Vice-Admiral John Poindexter, the President's new National Security Adviser, accompanied by Elliott Abrams, Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, visited Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador and Costa Rica. Poindexter announced that military aid to the contras would be increased since Nicaragua's neighbours were worried about the growth of the "Soviet-Cuban presence" there.

At a meeting to mark the fifth anniversary of the Nicaraguan volunteer police force, Tomas Borge, Nicaraguan Minister for the Interior, exposed the U.S. plans to build a fleet in Honduras and El Salvador for the counterrevolutionary "Nicaraguan Democratic Front." In addition, the U.S. has decided to give Honduras F-5 combat planes.

The El Nuevo Diario reports intensive overflights by unidentified aircraft in Costa Rica in the vicinity of the Nicaraguan border. There has been an increase in the smuggling of arms in the San Carlos canton where the contras are ensconced.

Meanwhile the U.S. and Honduras are about to hold another large-scale military exercise, code-named Terencio Sierra-86, in which 3,000 of the U.S. National Guard reservists are scheduled to participate.

U.S. officials, bent on squeezing more appropriations from Congress to finance the mercenaries, are resorting to diverse propaganda tricks, not stopping at the wildest allegations. The Nicaraguan government was accused, first by Shultz and then by others, of maintaining ties with the M-19 extremist Colombian guerrillas and of supplying them with the weapons for the armed assault on the Palace of Justice in Bogota on November 6, 1985, which ended in tragedy. The Colombian government, after an official investigation of the allegations against Managua, rejected them in toto. General Rafael Samudio Molina, commander-in-chief of the Colombian army, confirmed that there was no evidence whatever of Nicaraguan involvement in the activities of the movement responsible for the crime.

Later, another fabrication surfaced. This time the scene was Honduras, where military equipment and explosives allegedly intended for transshipment from Nicaragua to Salvadoran guerrillas were found in a car that had met with an accident.

President Daniel Ortega of Nicaragua, speaking on December 21 at the closing of the first year of the National Assembly, called on political parties to unite in the face of the threatened aggression. In response to this appeal, the Sandinist People's Army stepped up hostilities against the mercenaries. According to the Barricada, the latters' attempts to interfere with the harvesting of coffee in the Boaco, Zelaya and Chontales districts have been neutralized.

V. DOLGOV
Our Own Correspondent

Managua

COMMON STAND

The friendship between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia was given a fresh impulse last year by Mikhail Gorbachev's meetings with Yugoslav leaders. The talks held in Moscow at the beginning of January between Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and the Yugoslav Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs Raif Dizdarevic were a continuation of these expanding bilateral state and party contacts.

It was stressed that the U.S.S.R and Yugoslavia take a common stand on issues of war and peace and see their task in helping to curb the arms race on earth and preventing it from being extended to outer space. The Soviet side expressed its appreciation of the important role Yugoslavia is playing in the non-aligned movement, which has invariably enjoyed the respect of the Soviet people.

The ministers noted the importance of the Geneva summit as a major step towards improving the international climate and easing tensions.

A stable, enduring and just peace, the two ministers emphasized, can exist only among equals, equals not in strength but as regards rights and obligations. Diametrically opposed to this view is the "new globalism" philosophy invented in Washington to justify its hegemonistic policies. An apposite example is afforded by the attempts to intimidate Libya which is being subjected to an economic blockade and threatened with armed intervention. However, all progressive forces are aligned against the anti-Libyan conspiracy.

Much attention at the talks was devoted to Soviet-Yugoslav trade and economic ties. These ties are built on the principles of complete equality, mutual benefit and comradely mutual assistance. The sides are seeking to stimulate the development of certain industries, helping one or another branch of the economy in their respective countries to cope with the difficulties that arise.

A programme of cultural cooperation between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia for 1986-88 was signed.

V. GALIN

Raif Dizdarevic was received by Andrei Gromyko, President of the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet and CC CPSU Political Bureau member.

Above: During the talks.
TASS photo

SOUTH AFRICA

CHALLENGING THE RACISTS

The apartheid regime has accused Winnie Mandela of all the mortal sins in order to vilify the courageous patriot and to break her will.

The wife of Nelson Mandela, the leader of the African National Congress of South Africa, who has been incarcerated in South African prisons for more than 23 years now, she has become the personification of the conscience and staunchness of spirit of the black population of the country. It is not by chance that many South African freedom fighters call her the "Mother of the Nation" and the "Pasionaria of the townships."

Winnie Mandela was exiled to the small town of Brandfort in the Orange Free State and was categorically prohibited from taking part in political activity. When this seemed not enough, a gang of rowdies, not without encouragement from the authorities, attacked her house and burned it down.

In recent months, despite the banning order issued against her by the authorities, she has given interviews to newsmen and on several occasions spoken at the funerals of Africans killed during clashes with the police. Moreover, she has moved back to her home in the African township of Soweto in the outskirts of Johannesburg, where she is not allowed to live, and has refused to return to Brandfort.

The police have repeatedly taken her out of Johannesburg by force, but each time she has returned to Soweto. On the eve of the New Year she was arrested again, for the third time in December, but released on bail.

The reasons for her determination can be seen from the following interview she gave to a correspondent of the U.S. Newsweek, published in the December 30, 1985, issue of the magazine:

Correspondent: Why do you continue to defy your banning order?

Winnie Mandela: I am defying no one. I am highlighting the inequality of an unjust law. The Afrikaner had no right to take away my freedom. I have been banned and restricted since 1962. Those intervening years were the best years of my life, and they took them away. I just came to a stage where enough was enough.

Winnie Mandela in her home in Soweto from which the police had evicted her, injuring her in the process.

Agence France-Presse

Correspondent: It's almost as if you are doing personal battle with the government.

Winnie Mandela: What precipitated this was that the government exiled me to Brandfort. Not only that, but they attacked my house in August. They assaulted children.... The following week they bombed the house. The previous week they had killed in cold blood a very close friend of mine in Durban. I took that to be a direct message to me. The government has really gone berserk. No more bannings and restriction orders and exiles. They are eliminating people physically, and I have no reason to believe that they wouldn't do exactly the same to me. They had made several attempts on my life before, and for me to have returned to Brandfort and still regard myself as banned would have been going back to my suicide.

Thus the attempts to intimidate her failed. Although she is to go on trial on January 22 on charges of violating the internal security act, the Pasionaria of Africa continues the fight.

She exposes for the whole world to see the ruthless oppression of millions of her compatriots, the plight of those thrown into the racist prisons, and voices the aspirations of the dispossessed black population of South Africa, where today, as a correspondent of the American NBC television network reported, even a candle lit on Christmas could evoke a savage response on the part of the authorities. Candles have become symbols of protest against the arrest of thousands of anti-apartheid activists. A lighted candle in the window of a house can result in a police raid and the arrest of its inhabitants.

Winnie Mandela carries on the fight for a better future for her people. "If anything, more than at any other time in the history of our struggle, I feel the pulse of freedom," she told the Newsweek interviewer. "I feel the hope of the nation. We have never been as near to freedom as we are now, today."

N. RESHETNYAK

NEW ZEALAND

THREATS NOT WORKING

The bill on a nuclear-free zone, disarmament and arms control, introduced into parliament by the Labour government headed by David Lange, has evoked wide comment both at home and abroad. The majority of the New Zealanders strongly support the bill. In some Western countries, however, and primarily in the U.S., the Lange bill has come in for some sharp criticism. Why?

It provides for the establishment of a nuclear-free zone taking in New Zealand's territorial waters and airspace. This is a notable contribution by Wellington to the realization of the South Pacific nuclear-free zone treaty, signed last August by Australia, New Zealand and 11 island states (the zone covers a vast area extending from the equator in the north to the zone of operation of the treaty on the Antarctic in the south and from the Indian Ocean in the west to the already existing nuclear-free zone in Latin America in the east).

As an initial step the bill bans the entry into New Zealand ports of ships with nuclear weapons and nuclear-powered installations on board. The Labourites have thus decided to give their anti-nuclear principles the force of law.

Two thirds of New Zealand's population live in cities and towns that have already proclaimed themselves nuclear-free zones. The internal political situation in the country is in large measure determined by the anti-war movement. The New Zealanders are opposed to any participation in U.S. nuclear strategy and primarily to the entry of U.S. nuclear ships into New Zealand ports, to which under the previous, conservative government the U.S. Navy had free access. The undisguised pro-American policy of Prime Minister Robert Muldoon cost him his post. It was on the wave of the anti-war and anti-nuclear movement that the Labourites came to power in 1984. Their principal election promise was to keep nuclear weapons out of New Zealand.

At the beginning of 1985 Lange refused to allow a visit by the American Navy destroyer Buchanan and stuck to his decision despite U.S. political pressure and a loud propaganda campaign. Washington's hopes that Lange would "come to his senses" were disappointed. The new bill confirms this.

The anti-nuclear measures taken by the government are part of Labour's policy aimed at the termination of the arms race. Speaking at the jubilee session of the U.N. General Assembly, Lange also called for a complete and universal ban on nuclear tests. The Labourites were not deterred by Washington's warnings about a growing "Soviet military threat" in the Pacific. No one is threatening New Zealand, Lange said, and it will be in no greater danger if the U.S. severs the military alliance with it in retaliation for the adoption of the nuclear-free zone bill.

Washington has already threatened to break off all military contacts and deprive New Zealand of political "most-favoured-nation" treatment, and perhaps even to impose trade and economic sanctions. A high-ranking Administration spokesman implied that allied relations with New Zealand were at an end. The nuclear-free zone law was unacceptable to the United States, he said.

Wellington's policy is an obstacle to U.S. strategy in the region. Its chief military instrument of that strategy, the ANZUS Security Treaty signed in 1951 by the U.S., Australia and New Zealand, is breathing its last.

The U.S. hardly hopes to prevent the adoption of the nuclear-free law. But, as the Washington Post observed, it would like to "signal its displeasure and to discourage other anti-nuclear governments from following suit." In other words, to undermine the anti-war movements in Australia, Japan, and the island states in the South Pacific.

L. MLECHIN

BRITAIN—IRELAND

AFTER THE AGREEMENT

Ulster is in the news again. Round-ups, arrests, frame-ups, prisoners' hunger strikes are the grim realities of Northern Ireland today. They cannot be concealed by the smoke screen of propagandist enthusiasm over the Anglo-Irish agreement on Ulster, signed late last year. The agreement established an Anglo-Irish intergovernmental conference to examine the issues concerning Northern Ireland.

How to deal with problems which have their roots in the distant past and which have been further aggravated by London's colonialist policy, remains, however, an open question. All the more so as Margaret Thatcher gave Dublin to understand, before signing the agreement, that where the problems of Ulster were concerned it would have a purely consultative voice and that decisions would be made, as always, in London. After the British and Irish Prime Ministers had signed the document, Tom King, British Minister of State for Northern Ireland, announced in no uncertain terms that Ulster would remain part of the United Kingdom, while under the Constitution of the Irish Republic Northern Ireland is part of its national territory.

In an attempt to play down this sudden outbrust of British great-power chauvinism, King was compelled to apologize in the House of Commons for his interpretation of the agreement. King's "blunder" is reported to have made him a target for mock congratulations from MPs opposed to the agreement, which had been publicized from the outset as a step towards a new relationship with Dublin.

Northern Ireland's Protestant extremists were probably the only people to welcome the blunt statement from King. The idea of the Irish government having even the slightest influence on Ulster affairs infuriates them: fifteen Unionist MPs walked out of the Commons in protest.

It looks, however, as if the Protestant extremists have no cause for discontent. Observers note that the first ses-

▲ Catholic ghetto in Ulster.

Photo from Dagens Nyheter (Sweden)

sion of the Anglo-Irish intergovernmental conference has revealed the purely symbolic nature of London's much-vaunted "historic step." The main emphasis is placed on refining the repressive machine. It is an open secret that London has long opted for force as a solution to the problems of its "white colony," as Northern Ireland is often called.

Almost 2,600 dead and close on 30,000 wounded and maimed— these are the bloody statistics of London's direct rule in Ulster. Under the "emergency laws," anyone can be gaoled on evidence from an informer. The cleverly fomented strife between the Catholic minority and the Protestant majority enables London to benefit from its well-tried policy of "divide and rule." Northern Ireland was deliberately tailored by the architects of partition in such a way as to have twice as many Protestants as Catholics, most Protestants being pro-British. Socio-economic discrimination, privation of rights and oppression remain the lot of the Catholic minority. Unable to tolerate the role of "second-class" citizens that has been assigned to them, Northern Irish Catholics are voicing their protest.

Their struggle takes many forms. The other day three inmates of Belfast's Maze prison ended their hunger strike —a desperate act of protest against life sentences passed by a court without a jury, on evidence supplied by a police agent. Bearing in mind the loss of face it suffered following the outcome of the prisoners' hunger strike in 1981 (when 10 people died), London has promised to consider the demands of the civil rights activists.

The near future will probably shed light on another sinister aspect of the "historic" agreement which, as the Irish Communists stress, jeopardizes the country's neutrality. The agreement is to get financial backing from the U.S., which has long been trying to draw Ireland into its military orbit. The United States has had a hand in bringing about this agreement with a view to tying Dublin to NATO, the Morning Star observes. The importance of this to Washington is evidenced by the fact that it intends to back the Anglo-Irish package by grants to the tune of $1,000 million.

V. ZHITOMIRSKY

THE PEACEFUL WAR OF MARTIN LUTHER KING

From Our Own Correspondent
ANDREI ARKHIPOV

Portrayed on the cover of the book "Martin Luther King: the Peaceful Warrior" is a man well-known far beyond the United States, whose passionate appeals still rouse the oppressed of America today.

Dr Martin Luther King—the Nobel Peace Prize winner who was in his own lifetime a symbol of the struggle for civil rights and human rights in the broadest sense, the dignity of the United States' black population and other ethnic minorities and for the eradication of virtual slavery in the land of ostentatious freedoms—was murdered by racists. He would have been 57 on January 15. It is not by chance that the biography of this staunch fighter for the freedom of black and indeed all non-white Americans has been reissued today. Under pressure from public opinion, January 15 is now celebrated in the U.S., nearly 20 years after the assassination, as a national holiday—Martin Luther King's birthday.

Dr King had an unusual political career. The historic wave of a movement that started in the mid-fifties swept him from the typical course open to a black American and lifted him to its crest. Martin Luther King was born in 1929 in Atlanta, Georgia, in Auburn Avenue, the Negro ghetto. "In cities and towns all over the United States Negroes could only live in the coloured section. And this was much like living in a ghetto—those walled cities within cities," explains Ed Clauton, the distinguished writer, describing the early life of his leader and comrade-in-arms. It was not by hearsay that the future civil rights champion knew of segregated cinemas, drinking fountains and public toilets. The young Martin Luther King saw Whites Only signs wherever he looked in his home city. As a schoolboy, King heard a policeman bark "Hey, Mac!" at his father leading little Martin Luther by the hand. The boy's face smarted from a slap from a white lady who thought he had trodden on her toes.

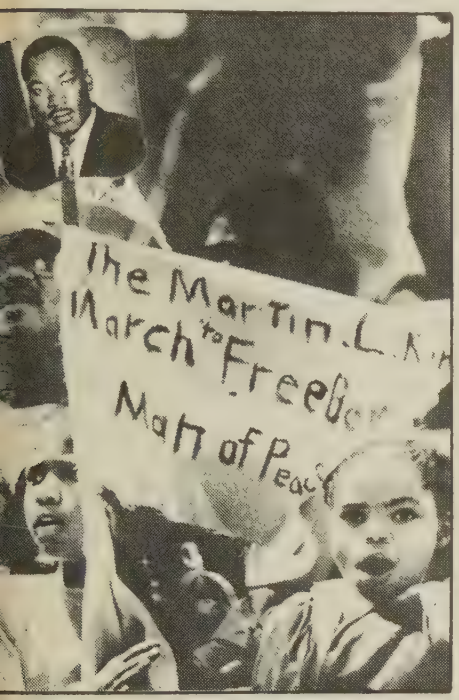
From day to day, he witnessed cruel injustice and what he saw and felt inspired him to act. In college, he majored in sociology and English in order to have a better understanding of people's motives and learn how to put his ideas across. Eventually he decided that preaching would have the most effective impact on the hearts and minds of the oppressed. The church had always been the centre of the black ghetto, whether in Atlanta or any other American city. His reasons for making this decision are seldom explained in detail today. Certain circles prefer to present Dr King as an abstract truth-seeker who adhered to the idea of non-violent resistance to evil: in this way it is easier to gloss over the race and class roots (which in America often coincide) of social inequality. This automatically relegates to the background the fact that Dr King's tragic death was a consequence of his involvement in the Memphis dustmen's strike—an act of protest against the infringement of civil rights and ruthless exploitation.

Declining more attractive offers, Martin Luther King selected a small parish in Montgomery, Alabama. Rosa Parks, a woman destined to go down in the history of the American civil rights movement and play a special role in the life of Dr King, recalled that he was very young, just over 20, when he arrived in Montgomery and that his personality and expressive speech showed his dedication to the cause of freedom and equality. It was through his church, Rosa Parks says, that he started organizing social action and political action committees.

On December 1, 1955, she refused to obey a bus driver's demand that she give up her seat to a white. Another black passenger yielded to pressure, however, and gave up his. Rosa Parks did not move even after the police had

been called in and taken her into custody. Four of us had to vacate our seats so that just one person could take all of them, Rosa Parks says. "It was very humiliating and very oppressive and discriminating to me."

On the following day Dr King called for the bus company to be boycotted. The boycott lasted for over a year and sparked off the black Americans' massive civil rights campaign. The influential Southern Christian Leadership Conference was set up, and King's subsequent political career was closely associated with it from then on. The movement steadily gained in scale and finally compelled the authorities to pass a number of crucial legal acts, including the Civil Rights Bill.



Martin Luther King, the Man of Peace, is the banner of freedom for civil rights fighters shown here on a march of protest against the White House's arbitrary social and economic policy.

AP-TASS photo

The long history of the struggle of coloured Americans has featured prominent personalities like Nat Turner, who led a slaves' revolt in the last century, and the publicist Frederick Douglas who called for an armed struggle against slavery. The National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People has been doing purposeful work since 1909. But Martin Luther King has a special place in the movement.

In a New York street which, as well as the traditional number, bears the name of Martin Luther King, I spoke of this with Charles McKinney, an aide to Congressman Charles Rangel who sits for this precinct in the House of Representatives. There, in the heart of Harlem, the historic importance of King's personality, his political legacy, and the present state of the movement to which he dedicated his life are particularly in evidence.

Charles McKinney told me that the movement headed by Martin Luther King and other leaders had obvious achievements to its credit. They had enhanced the political awareness of blacks and other ethnic minorities. The adoption of the Civil Rights Bill gave access to the political process even to those for whom in the past involvement in it had been inconceivable. As a result, coloured city mayors appeared, and black Americans began to be much better represented in state legislative bodies. Had it not been for the climate created by the civil rights movement in the late sixties, Congressman Rangel would hardly have been able to claim, in all seriousness, the post of Democratic Party whip in the House of Representatives after the autumn elections. The presidential candidacy of the black contender Jesse Jackson in the 1984 elections is even more significant. Nevertheless, the process has not as yet led to minorities being represented in political life in proportion to their numbers.

Indeed, the Black Caucus (as the union of coloured congressmen is called) comprises 19 representatives of Afro-Americans. This is about a third of the proportion in which black people should be represented in Congress relative to their actual voting strength in the U.S. community. As for the Senate, they are not represented there at all. However, it is not percentages (which were in King's time almost zero) but their dynamics that cause concern.

Charles McKinney told me that adverse factors were manifesting themselves as the conservative trend gathered strength. Under the Reagan Administration, a hostile atmosphere utterly insensitive to minority rights had set in....

One cannot fail to see that the conservatives are seeking to deny the black minority the rights they have won through years of fighting. Until quite recently blacks were appointed to administrative posts with at least a semblance of representation in proportion to their numbers. After the Republicans came to power the number of such appointments was reduced to a third, and in the judiciary—to almost an eighth.

Ironically, by making King's birthday a national holiday, the authorities sought to cover up measures which put American Negroes back where they began. The desegregation process which generations of democratic forces worked hard to promote is now being reversed to an ever greater extent. In Buffalo, regarded until a short time ago as a model of school desegregation, the funds allocated for the purpose were cut down to a seventh in the course of just one year of Reagan's presidency. A Dallas paper which kept tabs on the cheap house renting policy in 47 cities arrived at the conclusion that this federal programme covering 9.8 million tenants caters for whites and blacks "differentially and unequally." The former enjoy all sorts of privileges and are often offered homes complete with swimming pools and computerized burglar-alarm systems, while the latter for the most part get old structures. "The problems have worsened under the Reagan Administration," the Dallas Morning News comments.

Charles McKinney said that blacks were still the last to be hired and the first to be fired. Fluctuations in unemployment figures are never in the blacks' favour. The U.S. economic recovery is extremely relative. The big corporations are well off, but this is not always true of the average American.

Here are a few statistics to illustrate McKinney's remarks. In 1975 the proportion of the unemployed among blacks was 14.1 per cent, and among whites, 7.6 per cent. Did these figures look different at the end of 1984, in the period of economic recovery? Among blacks unemployment had risen to 16 per cent, and among the whites it had fallen to 6.5 per cent. Over the years of Reaganomics the level of unemployment among coloured young people has risen to 50 per cent (or even 70 per cent at other estimates), and a quarter of those in the age bracket of 25 and under have never had a chance to work.

I told Charles about the theory I had heard put forward in the U.S. to jus-

tity this situation to the effect that Afro-Americans do not want to work and prefer living on the dole. This is mockingly described as "super-rights."

Charles McKinney replied that if you have been a slave for 200 years, it is not enough simply to tell you one fine day that you are free. Although you have been relieved of the burden of slavery, you find yourself hopelessly behind. Far from insisting on privileges of any kind, blacks, once deprived of rights altogether, merely want to enjoy equal rights with their fellow Americans.

According to the U.S. News and World Report, the future is with such specialities as computer graphics, fibre optics and robotics. Nevertheless, McKinney told me, black young people are taught professions their white counterparts have lost all interest in. As for professions that involve high technology, these are reserved for a select few.

This is perhaps a cornerstone of the current Administration's policy. The formula of "equal opportunities" (as opposed to equal end-results) is essentially racist because it is intended, as one journalist aptly remarked, to force black Americans to take back seats in the buses again.

The Presidential decree obliging government contractors to observe strict quotas in employing coloured and Hispanic Americans and women, signed in 1965, was an important gain for the American ethnic minorities and working people generally. These quotas, which decided the fates of 23 million workers, have long been under fire from the more conservative members of the Reagan Administration. A week ago, word came that a compromise had been reached on this issue: the government is to give up its control function, and companies are to set their own quotas on the employment of minorities.

I asked Charles McKinney about the connection between the civil rights movement, on the one hand, and the movement for peace and national liberation, on the other.

Charles McKinney said that those trying to justify military spending by the fact that it allegedly creates jobs lack foresight. Military spending does create jobs, but much fewer of them than the same sums would if spent on civilian needs. Besides, it should be borne in mind that military spending leads, in the last analysis, to the destruction not only of world peace, but of the planet itself. This is why black Americans place the main emphasis on safeguarding peace. Achieving full civil equality without preventing all life on earth from being destroyed by a nuclear war would be Pyrrhic victory. The recent Soviet-American summit offers some hope of continued dialogue. The world has at least got a chance to rectify the situation.

It was not by chance that Jesse Jackson, a representative of black America, addressed Mikhail Gorbachev on behalf of American peace workers during the Geneva summit. The vigorous action taken by coloured Americans' political organizations against government support for the racist regime in South Africa is no accident either. These are direct manifestations of the movement's traditions established by Dr King which reactionaries would prefer to see relegated to the archives. Dr King raised his voice for peace, against the dirty war in Vietnam. He called the government which had unleashed it "the greatest purveyor of violence in the world."

On this first national holiday commemorating Martin Luther King, millions of Americans are to remind the nation of Dr King's political legacy and bring together the forces working for the democratization of society and peace and against national and racial oppression throughout the world.

Enough has already been said about the Administration's dual policy. Here are just two items from recent news agency reports: the Ku-Klux-Klan secured official permission to conduct a protest march against the celebration of Martin Luther King's birthday; and King's son and two daughters were arrested in Atlanta, Georgia, the other day for taking part in an anti-apartheid demonstration. Why? Charles McKinney replied that the United States' coloured citizens are a grievously oppressed minority, and that it will be some time before racism ceases to be a fact of American life.

New York

There are a little over a million of them left, people deprived of citizenship in their own land. Nineteen million have already died in the running war which a succession of colonial administrations have waged against them. They are the Indians, once the masters of the New World. In former times they were just exterminated. Today legal means are used against them. For example, they are jailed on framed-up charges. Leonard Peltier, one of the leaders of the American Indian Movement, received two life sentences.

"The campaign of solidarity involving hundreds of thousands of people all over the world has given me strength and strengthened my spirit. I want to thank you for this. My special thanks go to Soviet people who have suffered the pain and hardships of a big war. I open my heart and my arms to you, brothers and sisters, and I join you in your struggle for world peace." These were the words Leonard Peltier addressed to the readers of New Times. They were conveyed to me by his wife, Stephanie Autumn Peltier, who visited the U.S.S.R. at the invitation of the Soviet Peace Committee. She was accompanied by John Privitera, one of Leonard Peltier's lawyers, and Billy Wahpepah, a representative of U.S. Indians in the U.N. Human Rights Commission.

I asked Stephanie to tell me about herself, the struggle of her people, and about Leonard.

Here is what she said: "I come from the Hopi tribe. Hopi means 'good,' 'peaceful.' I lost my parents at the age of seven. I was lucky to get an education, I finished college in California. I now teach jail inmates. There is a special curriculum for them. Seventy-five per cent of my fellow Indians never finish high school. Many never find a job and end up in jail on criminal charges. Our curriculum is tailored for these people. Perhaps when they are released they may start a new life.

"I spent a long time away from my native parts and I was somewhat out of touch with the problems of my fellow Amerindians. My political awakening began in 1973 at Wounded Knee. You might say I am a veteran of those tragic events. It was there that I met Leonard."

FROM NEW TIMES FILES

The village of Wounded Knee figured in every textbook of U.S. history even before 1973. On December 29, 1890, an American cavalry regiment surrounded an Indian camp there and shot 300 unarmed people, including women,

"THEY WERE GOING TO MURDER HIM"

Talking to Stephanie Peltier

children, and old folk. The reason: their chief had dared to preach "heresy" to his tribesmen. He told them that Christ, crucified by whites, went to heaven to become an Indian god and prophesy a world deluge that would sweep away the white race and bring about the revival of Indian tribes.

Stephanie Peltier. In the 1930s, the authorities cheated Indians out of their lands in the Pine Ridge reservation where Wounded Knee is situated. In exchange, Indians began to get puny allowances. The result was unemployment ranging from 40 to 80 per cent, lack of medical care and normal housing, and an infant mortality rate three times higher than among white Americans.

FROM NEW TIMES FILES

In 1824 the U.S. government set up a bureau of Indian affairs. It was, significantly, under the War Department. In 1830 the law on resettlement of Indians came into force. Indians were driven beyond the Mississippi River. Before 1868 the U.S. government violated all the agreements concluded with the Indians (almost 400 of them). At the present time there are 371 treaties, all of which are being violated.

Stephanie Peltier. Thirteen years ago people from the Pine Ridge reservation demanded that the Senate consider their claims. There was no reply. The Indians rebelled against this indifference to their plight. We took up defensive positions around Wounded Knee in order to attract official and public attention. In reply, police, the FBI and National Guards mounted a 71-day siege. At the end of it they broke into the village and burned down the church, the trading post and the shanties. Two Indians were killed, many were wounded, and the leaders arrested. Shortly afterwards they arrested Leonard, accusing him of killing two FBI agents. Witnesses were blackmailed and intimidated into giving false testimony. Experts have established that the cartridge cases found at the scene of the crime did not fit Peltier's rifle. This was concealed from the court.

FROM A REPORT OF THE INDIAN AFFAIRS BUREAU, 1872

The Indian must feel as good in his reservation and as bad outside it as the federal government wishes. Those who misbehave should be punished or destroyed.

Stephanie Peltier. After what happened at Wounded Knee I joined the struggle for the rights and the release of political prisoners. For nine years Leonard's jailers kept him in isolation and did not allow him even to see a priest. They took away everything from him, including an ancient Indian calumet of peace. They were going to murder him. A prisoner who was offered early release for killing Leonard admitted as much to journalists.

The International Indian Treaty Council last year interceded on Leonard's behalf with the U.N. Human Rights Commission. Four months later he was transferred to another prison, was taken out of solitary confinement and allowed to see his family.

The petition for a retrial of his case was signed by 55 Congressmen. We expect a decision to be handed down in three months' time. The evidence presented by the defence is not new. It is all the old evidence that was withheld from the court. But we are afraid that as soon as a retrial is granted the government will challenge it and the legal procedure will drag out. In short, there is a long struggle ahead. We are ready for it. We know that Leonard is innocent and we have the legal evidence to prove it.

I asked Stephanie a few more questions.

What traits in your husband's character do you value most?

His strong spirit. One shudders at the thought of how long he has been locked away. And yet he does not surrender. He does not lose hope, and he can still smile.

How many trumped-up cases like this are pending in American courts?

I can't say exactly how many there are now, but there were 223 at the height of the Indians' struggle for their rights in the mid-1970s. We have scored a few victories. One of them is the recent release of our activist, Mary Butler, from a jail in the state of Oregon. The support many people are now giving Leonard is support for the Indians' struggle for their rights.

What are the principal aims of your movement?

The same as before: self-determination and sovereignty for our people, economic and political control over our own lands.

FROM NEW TIMES FILES

In April 1899 the federal government of the United States announced a "run" in which all whites could compete for Indian lands declared open for settlement. The start signal was given at eight in the morning. Riding in wagons or on horseback, the "contestants" set off from the start line, each bent on outracing the others in order to stake his claim to the best lands.

January 1986. The district court in Limestone, N.Y., instituted legal proceedings against Maurice John, Kenneth van Airman and Douglas Redeye, members of the Seneca tribe, who had organized the picketing of a road which the state authorities were building across the reservation without the Indians' consent. This is a violation of the existing agreement between Indians and the authorities and an attempt to deprive the reservation's inhabitants of part of land that is theirs by law.

* * *

Taking leave of Stephanie, I wished her, Leonard, and their fellow fighters success in their valiant and just struggle. Later, looking through the file of New Times for 1973, I came across a report from our correspondent about the events at Wounded Knee. One of the people he talked to was Dennis Banks, an active member of the Amerindian movement, who said among other things: "The revolt of my people continues. Washington will again and again hear our voice of anger and our demand that our stolen rights be restored."

The revolt goes on.

G. SIDOROVA

SUPERIORITY THEME AGAIN

Plato observed that unscrupulous speakers always try to make the bad seem good. And the good seem bad, we might add, as was recently illustrated by U.S. Congressman James Courter in an article in the Christian Science Monitor entitled "The ABM Treaty: Obstacle to Security." The New Jersey Congressman vilified the Soviet-American agreement which helps to prevent the arms race from being carried over to outer space. He gave his enthusiastic support to so-called "defensive systems," by which he meant the ominous "star wars." Alleging that SDI "can pave the way for arms control," he sought to present it in a new and prettier wrapping. The U.S. "offensive advantage is gone," he claimed.

Nonetheless, the essence of his contention is that America does need superiority over the U.S.S.R., albeit "defensive." Nor is Courter alone in holding this view. General James Abrahamson, director of the Strategic Defence Initiative Organization, has declared that it is imperative for the U.S. to have much more effective defences than the U.S.S.R. Yet in neither case is defence the real issue. In a letter to the Christian Science Monitor its reader Van Lund wrote that the SDI programme "would surely develop new and extremely dangerous offensive weapons."

The recent Geneva accords, as set out in the joint Soviet-American statement, do not embarrass Courter and his ilk in the least. The advocates of "superiority" are tirelessly at work concocting fictions about the "Soviet military threat," with the patent intention of nipping the signs of a thaw in U.S.-Soviet relations and in the world generally in the bud. But there cannot be two versions of the truth. Last month the New York Times underscored growing doubts in the U.S. about President Reagan's statement that the U.S. would share "star wars" technology with the U.S.S.R. Such statements can only increase distrust of Washington's propaganda allegations as to Russian "superiority."

It is imperative at this critical time for Washington to heed the voices of millions of people the world over, U.S. citizens included.

B. YARIK

• AGAINST THE DEMANDS OF THE TIME

• IMMORAL MINORITY

• FOUR SHOTS IN IOWA

FOR FREEDOM?

The moral majority is not, of course, minority. When the Reverend Jerry Falwell religious-political group, he could hardly h ed it "the immoral minority," since, if he h he would have been suspected of a brand c esty that does not go with politics. But as dyed-in-the wool politician his Moral Majo on contributions and donations from, amon opponents of libertinism and licence.

Eventually, though, the preacher's admir to his real aims and were badly shaken wh As a result, in an opinion poll to gauge th of various U.S. public figures Falwell ca bottom of the list. How he felt about this is guess. In a quick turnabout, he merged Majority with a new politico-religious grou set up. But whereas initially his enthusiasm w ly political now it was politically religious Majority had willy-nilly to concern itse "traditional moral issues" as abortion and p well's definition of morality is not a narr head of the new, larger organization, he formed newsmen that communism was the n and scourge. As he devotes most of his tim communism, the new organization was Liberty Federation. And it is in the nam that the federation has pledged to support the Nicaraguan contras, and South Africa's ernment.

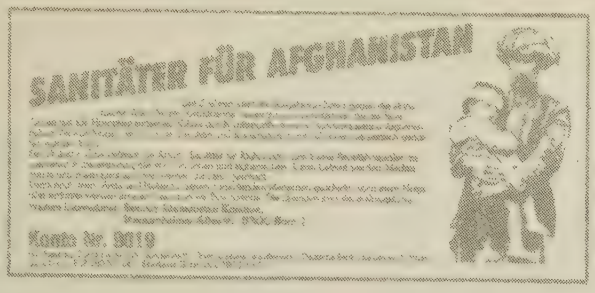
SHOOT THE BANK MANAGER? SHOOT YOURSELF?

"Shoot the bank manager" might hitherto have been no more than a U.S. farmer's facetious response to a neighbour grousing about financial difficulties. But not any longer. In Hills, Iowa, farmer Dale Barr shot first his bank manager, then his neighbour, and finally his wife and himself.

He was in the red at his local bank to the tune of several hundred thousand dollars. Shortly before this tragic dénouement, he had told his sister that virtually nothing remained of his farm and that he could not pay his debts. True, neither he, his wife, his neighbour, or his bank manager need have lost their lives had he heeded counsellors from the special anti-stress service who visited Hills shortly before the killings. These services have now been set up for farmers facing ruin and in this connection it should be mentioned that in Iowa four out of every ten farmers have serious money troubles. But Barr was evidently in need not so much of counselling, as of tangible assistance. And his case is not unique. Last year U.S. farm produce purchasing prices dropped 20 per cent, while the prices of commodities needed by farmers rose significantly as a result of which their net incomes fell by a total of $9.5 billion.

A fortnight after the Iowa tragedy, President Reagan signed a food bill which, he stated, would give American farmers hopes. However, insofar as one can judge, hope, or rather alleviation of stress, is where it stops. Indeed, it may not even go that far, for Agriculture Secretary John Block commented on his resignation from office that prospects were bleak. Meanwhile the magazine Business Week says that for the farmer 1986 will be a year of plenty, plenty of trouble.

Indeed, according to the afore-mentioned food bill, the maize and wheat price subsidies will be cut by respectively 15 and 18 per cent, which means that net farmer incomes will fall by another $2-4 billion. Business Week be-



NOT for Afghanistan

The ad in Süddeutsche Zeitung was not a lavish spread but the heading "Medics for Afghanistan," over a picture of a turbanned man carrying a wounded child, and the bank account No. 9019 stood out. Most readers were bound to conclude that this is an F.R.G. charity founded to assist the health services in the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

However, for the self-styled Bonner Afghanistan Komitee which placed the ad the Hippocratic oath is the least concern. The short text reiterates the whole gamut of Western anti-Afghan propaganda clichés: the "Red Army has bombed nearly all hospitals outside Kabul"; there is "no first aid" for sick and wounded. In the kindness of its heart the Komitee aches to fill the gap. Not, however, by sending personnel to Afghanistan as such, but by smuggling them in with counterrevolutionary bands. And Afghans know what sort of work these medics do. They specialize in spying and sabotage, and have "helped" to destroy 131 hospitals and first-aid stations either completely or in part. Their activities are on a par with those of Western correspondents whose reporting rivals the handiwork of these so-called medics.

N. ZHOLKVER

TOO TALKATIVE

In South Africa the Chilean Defence Minister Vice-Admiral Patricio Carvajal Prado (Ret.) was welcomed with open arms. Small wonder, as Pretoria is short of friends. With Chile's fascist junta, however, it has the warmest of relations. South Africa sends Chile weapons, including missiles.

But cooperation does not stop there. Chilean servicemen participate in punitive operations against Namibian patriots, and for their killer zeal some have even been decorated.

The Chilean visitor toured the "operation zone" and was delighted with the experience in counterinsurgency Chilean soldiers were accumulating. Predictably so, as counterinsurgency is for the Chilean junta a matter of moment. Carvajal Prado will likewise have greatly benefited from the experience of South African troops in quelling popular unrest.

Commending the racist army's operations, Pinochet's emissary decorated South African Defence Minister Magnus Malan. Malan formally thanked the visitor, and, carried away by his emotion, observed that South Africa and Chile were fighting for "common ideals." He is likely, however, to be rebuked by the other members of government. That South Africa and the Chilean junta have "common ideals" is no secret. But it ought not be admitted for all the world to hear! The charge of fascism is deeply offensive to the leaders of the racist regime. And now one of their own ministers has publicly tarred them with the Chilean brush.

L. SKURATOV

...en farms in every hundred will be ...t the bank manager! Or shoot your-

L. YELIN

Cartoon from the International Herald Tribune

WHERE IS THE BORDER LINE?

At a secret camp in Pennsylvania commandos are being trained for raids into Indo-China. Mercenaries of the privately organized extreme Right-wing paramilitary Delta group are learning the techniques of assault and sabotage. The Delta leader told a Washington Times correspondent that his men, who include not only former Green Berets with Vietnamese experience, but also active servicemen, would infiltrate Laos, Kampuchea, or Vietnam to depths of up to 50 kilometres.

Why are they planning to raid countries from which some ten years ago they were dispatched in no uncertain terms? To rescue American POWs supposedly still being held in Indo-China, we learn. The U.S. Administration has repeatedly stated that it has no evidence that this is the case. Still, and again the source is the Washington Times, both the Administration and Congress have long known of Delta's proposed undertaking and have done nothing to obstruct it. As the Delta chief says, the question of a commando raid has already been settled and all that remains to be decided is an opportune zero hour.

Senior members of the Administration are fond of saying that America has at last shaken off the Vietnam syndrome. The concept today is one of a New Globalism, which implies direct U.S. intervention in the affairs of sovereign states incurring its displeasure. To conduct "special operations" abroad, the Pentagon is training its own special Delta team of commandos. Meanwhile American ultras have their own, private Delta team. So where is the border line between state and private terrorism?

V. LYUBOVTSEV

ONCE THE TOP STARTS SPINNING SLOWER...

FELIX GORYUNOV

After two years of economic recovery characterized, as usual, by a high rate of business activity, economic growth in the U.S. and Japan began to slow down in 1985. In Western Europe, where the crisis receded later, economic growth continued. As distinct from previous post-crisis periods, however, economic growth did not reduce unemployment or improved living standards in any region of the industrialized capitalist world. A relatively favourable economic situation in the centres of world capitalism did not alleviate the economic and financial difficulties which beset most developing countries.

Growth Rate Falling

The U.S. economy, which attained and surpassed the pre-crisis level of 1979 in 1984, began to lose momentum last year. It follows from the relevant tables that the increment of the gross domestic product and industrial output was way below that in the previous two years. The fall in mining and power industry output was especially striking. As in the previous years, the munitions industry was not affected by market fluctuations: it grew by 10 per cent over the year. In the middle of 1985 the Pentagon's orders kept almost a third of the manufacturing industry busy.

The other industries which registered growth were automaking and construction. Demand for cars and housing was kept up by the reduction of interest on consumer credits. Hoping that the time of costly bank loans were past, the Americans plunged further into debts: the total sum of consumer credit has grown 1.5 times since 1982 and now amounts to almost 20 per cent of personal incomes.

The decline in retail turnover, which began in autumn, revealed that the possibilities for economic growth through increasing end-product demand had been exhausted towards the end of the year. This was chiefly due to the economic recovery having failed to bring the working people an increase in their earnings. As Business Week put it, "wage growth has slowed to the point where inflation, although very low, is eroding purchasing power. That means real earnings in the non-farm sector, adjusted for inflation, did not rise at all."

In the farm sector the situation proved much worse. In ten months of 1985 alone the farmers' incomes dwindled by $20 billion. Their debt to banks topped $200 billion, and 200,000 farmers found themselves on the verge of ruin (see p. 16). More than 80 small and middle banks catering to farms went bankrupt.

During the year the official U.S. jobless figure was around eight million, or 7 per cent of the work force. This is four million down on the 1980-82 slump but up on the 1973-75 crisis. According to trade unions, the official unemployment figures are understated. AFL-CIO president Lane Kirkland puts the jobless rate at 12.6 per cent. Hardest hit by unemployment were industrial workers. In the manufacturing industry alone 325,000 jobs were axed in a year. Employment grew only in the services.* Some 72.3 million (75 per cent of those working for hire, not counting farm hands) are engaged in this sphere as against 25 million factory and office workers in material production. In 1979-84 over five million industrial workers lost their jobs in the U.S.A., with a third of them being unable to continue in their line after the crisis and having to seek employment in the services where wages are 20-30 per cent lower than in the industry.

A rapid rise in the production of computers, telecommunication equipment and electronic components has not made the employment situation any better. Since the early 1980s the boom in the new industries has created a mere 300,000 new jobs. In spring, however, stagnation set in there too. Last year the output of electronic equipment grew by only 3 per cent as against an average annual growth rate of 30 per cent in the previous years. Microprocessor factories fired more than 60,000 workers in a year. The stagnation was due to the saturation of the market with electronic computers and software which now account for almost a half of the American companies' expenditures on production equipment.

At the Commerce Department's preliminary estimate, the total growth in investments constituted 8.4 per cent last year (half the 1984 figure). Investments are expected to decline further in 1986, meaning that a continued reduction of consumer demand will not be made up for by any expansion of business demand; this circumstance may bring on another slump within months.

Record Deficits

In order to stimulate business activity, the Federal Reserve System increased money in circulation and reduced bank lending rates. This, however, failed to improve the situation on the credit and money market. The U.S. financial system staggered under an unprecedented federal budget deficit which had been financed by multibillion-dollar loans on the home and international money markets. In the 1984-85 fiscal year which ended on September 30 the gap between the U.S. Treasury's expenditures and revenues exceeded the 200-billion mark for the first time ever, and the U.S. state debt is now nearing two trillion dollars.

GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT

(growth in per cent of previous year)

	1983	1984	1985*
Industrialized capitalist world	**2.2**	**4.5**	**2.75**
U.S.A.	**3.4**	**6.9**	**2.4**
EEC	**0.8**	**2.2**	**2.25**
Japan	**3.0**	**5.8**	**4.7**

* Preliminary estimates

Such chronic deficits are caused chiefly by enormous military programmes.* The Reagan Administration gives the Pentagon 50 cents out of the taxpayer's every dollar, Congressman Ronald Dellums wrote. Before the current Administration's term of office expires, the average family will have to pay the Pentagon over $20,000.

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* According to the classification adopted in the U.S.A., the services comprise passenger transport, industrial and domestic power supply, communications, public utilities, wholesale and retail trade, banking, insurance, mediatory and information services.

* See "Damoclean Sword of Militarism." New Times, issue 38, 1985.

Foreign competition has become another serious problem for American business. Its aggravation is also a by-product of militarization. In order to finance military programmes through attracting foreign capital Washington has set a high bank interest rate with the result that the dollar's exchange rate has risen and American goods have become less competitive even in the home market. This has brought about another record deficit—that of foreign trade. The gap between import and export now amounts to nearly $150 billion as against $123 billion in 1984. Washington tried to use this unprecedented foreign trade deficit as a trump card in talks with its allies (competitors in this case). Beginning with 1983 the U.S. absorbed a considerable proportion of the other Western countries' export and therefore was their "economic locomotive." With our economy slowing down, the Americans reasoned, it is Japan and Western Europe that must do the "pulling." If they don't, capitalism will slide down into the abyss of a crisis again. However, neither the Japanese nor the West European centre of capitalism has proved able to "pull."

INDUSTRIAL OUTPUT

(growth in per cent of previous year)

	1983	1984	1985*
Industrialized capitalist world	**3.1**	**7.1**	**3.3**
U.S.A.	**6.6**	**10.6**	**2.1**
EEC	**0.4**	**2.9**	**3.3**
Japan	**3.6**	**11.1**	**5.0**

* Preliminary estimates

Looking for a "Locomotive"

Washington pinned special hopes on Japan, which had gained more than other countries from expanding its export to the U.S. Japanese industrialists and bankers purchased, as before, U.S. Treasury's bonds and invested capital in American companies, thus partially covering the federal budget and foreign trade deficits. But Tokyo never flung the door of its home market open to American exports. Besides, demand in that market was not too high.

The Land of the Rising Sun surpassed the other capitalist countries in the rate of its economic growth boosted by export trade expansion rather than by a rise in consumer demand. Owing to an insignificant rise in earnings, end-product demand grew by less than 3 per cent over the year as against a 10 per cent increase in capital investment. Investment in new equipment grew mostly in the automotive industry (33 per cent) but went down in the electrical engineering industry. At a preliminary estimate, Japan's export surplus in 1985 was an all-time high: about $50 billion. Japan's foreign assets are to increase from $74 billion at the end of 1984 to $160 billion at the end of 1986. As a result, Japan is becoming the capitalist world's biggest exporter of capital.

The F.R.G. depends on export to the U.S. far less than Japan does. Yet there, too, economic growth was spurred on by the expansion of export rather than by higher consumer demand. End-product demand went up by a mere one per cent, the gross domestic product by 2.5 per cent, and industrial output by 4 per cent; to compare, export rose by 7.5 per cent. The outlook for 1986 offers no hope of the F.R.G. becoming a "locomotive" of the capitalist economy, either. Even its economy, the most powerful in Western Europe, cannot provide employment for 9 per cent (2.3 million) of its able-bodied population.

OFFICIAL UNEMPLOYMENT FIGURES

(million)

	1983	1984	1985*
Industrialized capitalist world	**30.0**	**28.4**	**30.8**
U.S.A.	**10.7**	**8.5**	**8.2**
EEC	**11.7**	**12.1**	**13.3**
Japan	**1.6**	**1.6**	**1.5**

* Preliminary estimates

The expansion of export trade proved the decisive factor for the British economy as well. In 1985 Britain's gross domestic product grew by 3.5 per cent; industrial output, by 5.6 per cent; consumer spending, by 2.4 per cent; and export trade, by 7.1 per cent (at the estimate of the Confederation of British Industry). Although the economic situation there was better than in the previous few years, 3.2 million remained out of work in that country. Only Spain, the Netherlands and Belgium surpassed it in jobless percentages. In France the situation is largely the same. Last year's vital economic indices proved the highest since 1980: the gross domestic product rose by 3 per cent and industrial output by 8 per cent. About a half of the increment was due to an increase in export. At the same time consumer demand grew insignificantly, and every tenth able-bodied French citizen was "redundant."

Italy entered the economic recovery phase later than its Common Market partners. In that country, recovery was stimulated by an increase in domestic demand rather than by export trade. Nevertheless, inflation in Italy went down at a slower rate than in other Western countries: retail prices jumped by 8.5 per cent there over the year. The Spanish government's austerity measures reduced inflation to the same level. Even these measures, however, failed to pull the country out of chronic stagnation. It was only towards the end of the year that neighbouring Portugal, Western Europe's inflation record-holder (20 per cent), began to crawl out of the crisis. The two countries joined the Common Market in January 1986 when the economic situation was far from auspicious for them. Their integration into the EEC is going to be a painful process for the Ten, too, especially in the agrarian sphere.

Catching up with the U.S. and Japan in the sphere of science and technology has become a top priority for the EEC. In Western Europe, the output of high technology products in the past ten years grew at an annual rate of less than 5 per cent; in the U.S., 7 per cent, and in Japan, 14 per cent. This explains the attractiveness of the suggestion put forward by President Mitterrand last April that Western Europe's research efforts be coordinated within the framework of the Eureka project. The project has drawn not only the EEC states but six other West European countries as well.

A wider use of the European Currency Unit (ECU) in business transactions among the EEC countries and in their credit relations with other countries was one of the year's more conspicuous developments. According to Paris banks, in 1985 the total sum of international loans in ECUs topped that of Eurocredits in West German marks.

ANNUAL RETAIL PRICE GROWTH

(per cent)

	1983	1984	1985*
Industrialized capitalist world	**5.2**	**5.3**	**4.75**
U.S.A.	**3.2**	**4.3**	**3.0**
EEC	**6.2**	**5.1**	**5.5**
Japan	**1.9**	**2.2**	**2.5**

* Preliminary estimates

"Structural Improvements"

For all the similarities and dissimilarities between the economic situations in the industrialized capitalist countries, most of them had two points in common in 1985.

First of all, the economic recovery (now in its third year in the U.S.A. and Japan and in its second year in Western Europe) has not improved the employment situation. According to the Organization for Economic Cooperation

and Development (OECD), the number of jobless in the 24 industrialized capitalist member countries totalled nearly 31 million last year. In Western Europe unemployment was the highest over the past 50 years (11 per cent of the work force, or more than 19 million jobless). The youth are particularly hard hit: one out of four young men or women in Western Europe is out of work.

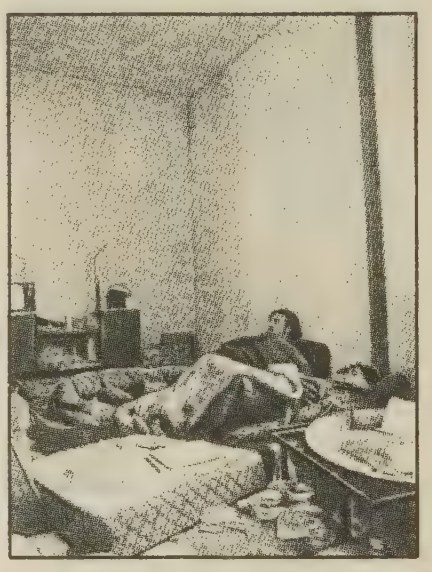
Second, despite the improvement of the economic situation, the growth of prices is slowing down in most West European countries instead of accelerating as is usually the case. The cause of this phenomenon is disclosed in the OECD's December Economic Outlook which notes structural improvements in the industrialized economies. Among these "improvements" the OECD experts mention "the greater flexibility of labour markets and more modest wage growth." These, the outlook points out, "have brought the longest disinflation in the postwar period."

Translated into the language of political economy, "structural improvements" mean nothing but a sharp increase in the degree of the working people's exploitation made possible by massive and prolonged unemployment—an outcome of the class policy pursued by the state-monopoly Establishment. The arms race combined with austerity measures (public spending cuts), anti-union actions and anti-labour laws—all this has led to a situation where the Western working people are fighting not so much to have their pay raised as to keep their jobs and their present living standard. Labour costs constitute two thirds of the industrialists' production outlays. By saving on the workers' pay, the capitalists were able to reduce the cost of manufactured goods in the 1980s, which contributed to "dis-inflation."

Most of the collective agreements concluded between U.S. trade unions and employers in 1985 provided for a 2.3 per cent rise in nominal wages, while the price growth rate was 3 per cent. Industrialists imposed a wage freeze and even a cut in nominal pay on half a million workers. According to the U.S. Bureau of Labour Statistics, the U.S. worker's real gross weekly pay averaged $171.3 in October 1985, as against $184.8 in 1967 (in 1977 dollars). Labour efficiency per worker increased approximately 1.5 times in the U.S. over the last 18 years. But whereas before the 1980s a rise in work efficiency was partially made up for by a rise in wages, in the past five years labour productivity growth was accompanied by a reduction of the working people's real wages*.

Similar processes are to be observed in the West European countries. "For the fourth consecutive year," the European Trades Union Institute pointed out in its July 1985 report, "there was a drop in the average growth rate of nominal wages in Western Europe. Gross hourly wages in West European industry rose at a slower rate than the rate of inflation. In most countries real incomes fell as did the purchasing power of workers, with a further increase in unemployment."

In the postwar years the workers of the industrialized countries succeeded, through persistent industrial action, to improve their welfare standards which were periodically depressed by mass unemployment during cyclical crises of overproduction. In the 1980s the workers' living standard began to fall even in the economic recovery period. This means that the working people's share of the public wealth they create keeps dwindling, i.e., that the process of the relative worsening of their economic position in capitalist society continues. What's more, the past four years have also seen an absolute fall of the working class's welfare standard as compared with the previous postwar periods.



They have a home, at least, unlike some 200,000 other British families. This is the kind of "affluence" the Tories have given their fellow citizens.

Photo from The Economist (Britain)

The social consequences of the policy of class revenge which the monopolies seek to take on the workers for the concessions they made to them in the 1950s-70s tend to cause the absolute deterioration of the workers' living standards. It may be recalled in this connection that until quite recently the ideologists of an "affluent society" tried in vain to deny the law of the deepening of the main contradiction of capitalism—the contradiction between the social character of production and the private monopoly appropriation of its products. This tendency convincingly reaffirms the following thesis of the draft of the new text of the CPSU Programme: "In conditions of state-monopoly capitalism which combines the strength of the monopolies and the state into a single mechanism, the conflict between the productive forces which have assumed enormous proportions and the capitalist relations of production is becoming ever more acute."

A Poor Man's Gift

The development of the capitalist economy in 1985 also revealed the sharpening of the conflict between the centres of imperialism, U.S. imperialism above all, and the developing countries.

"Poor man's gift" was what The Economist, a conservative London weekly, called the 1985 fall in the prices of the raw materials the developing South supplies to the capitalist North. At the weekly's estimate the "gift" is worth $65 billion. The Economist predicted that this might bring the inflation rate in the West down to 2 per cent in 1986, with the result that economic growth would accelerate, international credit become cheaper and international trade liven up. All this would allegedly lighten the debt burden of the Third World.

The London forecast is nothing new. Western economists drew up a similar scenario of coping with the debt crisis two years ago. The realities of 1985 belied it, however. The slowing down of economic growth rates in the centres of world capitalism told on international capitalist trade: its turnover grew by a mere 3 per cent last year as against 8.7 per cent in 1984, with an increase in Japanese and West European export to the U.S. accounting for most of the increment. At the same time the industrialized capitalist countries sharply reduced their import from the developing countries. This actually means that the International Monetary Fund's recipe for remedying the "debt situation" through increasing the developing countries' export and currency earnings has not worked.*

This is not only the matter of the Western countries' gross domestic product growth falling short of the planned 3 per cent. The cut in the raw material and semi-finished product import was caused not only by the fact that the energy intensity of and materials consumption by production have been decreasing for years, but above all by the unequal terms of the West's trade with the Third World countries. According to the U.N. Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), the industrialized capitalist states now impose tariff and non-tariff restrictions on a third of the developing countries' total exports. As a result, their balance of payments deficit amounted to more than $47 billion in 1985.

Such is the origin of the $65 billion "gift" the rich West has wrested from the developing nations on top of the

* In the 1970s the average annual labour productivity growth rate in the U.S. manufacturing industry was nearly 2 per cent, and in 1980-84, about 3 per cent.

* See "The Debt Problem: Can It Be Resolved?" New Times, issue 41, 1985.

$60 billion tribute paid out by the Third World states to the usurious banks and transnational corporations as interest on loans and profits on foreign capital invested in their economies. The developing countries' total foreign debt has topped one trillion dollars, and the outlook for solving the debt problem has become dimmer still. On the other hand, as business activity is slackening in the West, the threat of the capitalist monetary system collapsing has become more real.

At a series of meetings held on the U.S. initiative the Western ruling quarters tried to find ways of preventing monetary crises, and to give at least a slight impulse to the economy.

On September 22 the finance ministers and central bank managers of the U.S., the F.R.G., Britain, France and Japan met in emergency session in New York. They agreed on the need for joint measures to reduce the dollar exchange rate, renounce protectionism and coordinate their credit policies. An unofficial meeting of prominent politicians and financiers from the leading Western countries on questions related to an international currency reform, held in Washington last November, also came as a surprise. It was sponsored by Congressman Jack Kemp, who is regarded as a likely Republican candidate for U.S. presidency in the 1988 elections. Symptomatically, the Washington meeting discussed the restoration of fixed currency rates—through returning to the gold standard in particular. Until now, official Washington disapproved of this idea.

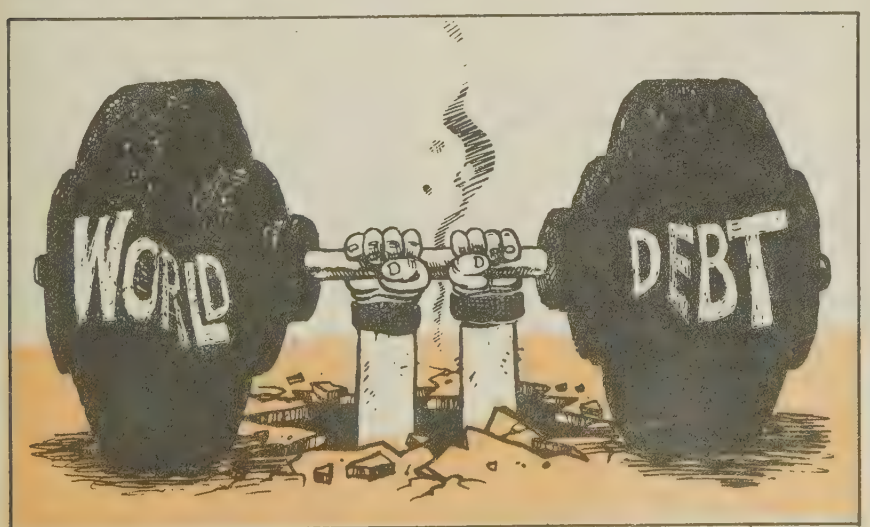
Finally, another way to achieve monetary stabilization is suggested by the Baker Plan put forward at an annual IMF-IBRD session. The U.S. Treasury Secretary proposed that the 15 most heavily indebted developing countries be offered help on condition that they accepted the IMF's recommendations for making their economies healthier (by inviting foreign capital, denationalizing the public sector and renouncing foreign trade control). Under the Baker Plan, Western bankers are to grant these 15 countries $20 billion (incidentally, the countries in question, taken together, owe the Western banks $300 billion, of which about $100 billion are due to American banks alone).

Although the IMF and IBRD approved the Baker Plan, the private bankers took a restrained attitude to it. They are unwilling to run any more risks. What matters for the bankers is not merely to get their money back but to receive interest on it. The disappearance of the $10 billion a year American banks get as interest on their loans, the Fortune magazine wrote last December, would be a catastrophe because it would hit the bankers' profits. The dimensions of the catastrophe can be judged by the fact that annual profits of the United States' 100 biggest bank-holding companies constitute about $8 billion.

Why does Washington concentrate on currency and financial problems? "The world [capitalist—F.G.] is in rather a precarious situation," London's Financial Times quotes an experienced Wall Street businessman as saying. "When you work out loans outstanding in the developing countries, look at the farm credit system and the leverage in the U.S. private sector—all of these things say the U.S. economy has to keep growing." The leaders of the Federal Reserve System are "scared to death."

Is the capitalist "ice" strong enough to hold this load?

Cartoon from Business Week (U.S.A.)



Indeed, the FRS is afraid lest the slowing down of economic growth should lead to stagnation or even to a slump. This, in turn, is fraught with the aggravation of the monetary crisis above all.

The Aftereffects of Reaganomics

The functioning of the capitalist economy resembles the spinning of a top. While it "spins" fast enough, business is relatively stable. Factory owners build up production and invest more capital in it, bankers readily grant credits, and stocks keep rising. The Treasury's tax revenues grow. But as soon as the economic top starts spinning slower, business and the financial system lose their balance.

When it came to office, the Reagan Administration promised to keep up an economic growth rate of 4-5 per cent a year all the way to the 1990s. This, Washington claimed, would take a reduction of corporation income taxes, the "deregulation" of business (i.e., the renunciation of state regulation of it), the suppression of inflation, a cutback in "excessive" social spending, and the consolidation of the dollar. This is supposed to help "rearm America"—increase its military potential and fit out its production facilities with new technologies.

Over four years of Reaganomics some of these objectives were achieved. The industrialists modernized and automated their plant, throwing "redundant" labour out of work. High unemployment, wage freeze and wage cuts reduced the Big Business' labour costs and slowed down inflation growth. High bank interest rates strengthened the dollar and ensured an influx of the foreign capital required to "rearm America." The White House's biggest "achievement" was putting munitions business in the lead of economic growth and letting it have the lion's share of financial, material and technological resources. Today the military-industrial complex is even reaching for the stars although its footing—the U.S. financial system—is already shaky.

Besides limiting civil consumption which any commodity production depends upon, militarization has put up such obstacles to economic growth which cannot be overcome even by importing capital, scientific ideas and high technology from other capitalist countries on an unprecedented scale. As Paul Volcker, the FRS chairman, put

it, "the U.S.A. is becoming addicted to a large flow of capital from abroad."

Reaganomics did not only burden the financial system with an enormous state debt. It made the U.S. the world's biggest debtor, whose foreign debt was snowballing over the last few months. In the spring of 1985 the United States turned, for the first time ever since World War I, from a creditor into a debtor, the Fortune magazine wrote. By the end of the year its debt reached $100 billion. In 1986 it is to exceed $200 billion, and towards the 1990s—a trillion dollars. In the light of this prospect, the reduction of the interest rate, started by the FRS, and the resultant fall of the dollar exchange rate may cause a massive outflow of short-term capital which can push the leading imperialist power to the verge of bankruptcy.

Astronomical domestic debts are no less dangerous to the U.S. financial system. The aggregate debt of the corporations, the federal government, state authorities, municipalities and the population (in accumulated consumer credit) surpassed $7 trillion in 1985—double the worth of the U.S. annual gross national product. The Administration-encouraged "deregulation" of the money market has made credit operations "playing with fire," the Business Week comments, as they "have tilted the axis of the financial system away from investment toward speculation" with the result that "the U.S. has evolved into ... a casino society." The magazine writes that if something were to go wrong in the income flows supporting this debt, the collapse would be worse than the crash of 1929. In other words, the top must go on spinning, otherwise it will topple.

It would be in place to quote the selfsame Business Week as saying at the end of 1984: "The superdollar is reshaping the world economy—and could last a decade. The world, in effect, is again moving to a dollar standard, and the new era of dollar hegemony is reshaping the world economy."

As we see, the "new era of dollar hegemony" has proved short-lived. This is evidenced by Washington's feverish quests for ways to achieve monetary stabilization, to stimulate economic growth or, at least, to keep the world capitalist economy going at its present rate. The next few months will show whether the state monopoly "regulators of the economy" succeed in that. ■

FRANCE

Before the National Assembly elections

OPPOSITION SIGHTS SET ON COMEBACK

VITALY SEMYONOV

In less than two months from now, on March 16, the French will go to the polls to elect a new parliament. Will the Socialists retain political power or will the reins of government pass into the hands of the Right-wing parties after their five years in the opposition? Public opinion polls show that if the voting took place now the scales would tip in favour of the opposition. And although such prognostications cannot be taken as conclusive, the fact remains that there has been a shift to the Right in French political life.

Their defeat in the 1981 election caused deep divisions in the Alliance for the Republic (RPR) led by Jacques Chirac, Mayor of Paris, and the right-centre Union for French Democracy (UDF) led by Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, each party blaming its ally-cum-rival for the failure at the polls. The consternation and recriminations, however, did not last long. Recovering from the initial shock, the opposition went over to the counteroffensive, relying on the solid support of the monopolies, on its broad connections inside the government machinery, and its influence on the mass media, especially in the provinces.

The position of the Right-wing parties is strengthened also by the disillusionment of wide sections of the population in the policy of the Socialists, who have failed to live up to many of their promises. Moreover, the opposition enjoys the moral and political support of conservative quarters in other countries, primarily in the U.S., F.R.G. and Britain. Suffice it to recall how international financial quarters compelled France to channel its economic and social policy onto "austerity" lines after the pattern of its closest partners and rivals. Similarly indicative was the recourse to pressure tactics when Paris declined to support the embargo on the supply of equipment for the Siberian gas pipeline or to join in the "star wars" programme.

The RPR and the UDF have notably strengthened their positions in the recent period. In the municipal and cantonal elections of the past two years the Right have won control over the municipal councils of most big cities with a population of 30,000 or more, as well as over the majority of departmental general councils. This has provided them with a powerful springboard for a possible return to power in March.

Remembering the lessons of 1981, when disunity resulted in a crushing defeat for the Right, the opposition is now putting the finishing touches to a common election platform which will be made public shortly. Judging by information "leaked" to the press by the RPR and UDF headquarters, this government programme is both a compromise and an attempt to cover up the existing differences.

What exactly is being offered? The opposition stands for the repeal of the electoral law adopted in the spring of 1985 which introduced proportional representation and for the restoration of the previous majoritarian system with voting in two rounds. It calls for wide access for private capital to the TV and radio, restriction of immigration, and truncating the rights of the trade unions and the workers' social and economic gains.

In the economic sphere the two main opposition parties propose to put an end to state regulation, which has been basic to the economic policy of many governments since World War II. The Rights are lavish with promises to the monopolies, pledging to give them a free hand, to "liberalize" the price policy, to abolish controls over credits and foreign exchange operations, and to grant them tax exemptions. One of the principal watchwords is denationalization—the return to private ownership of the industries and banks nationalized not only in 1981 but in the entire postwar period.

The influence of the ultra-conservative circles is strongly felt in the op-

position election platform. Their ideological postulates have been borrowed from the U.S. "new Right." This is the source of inspiration also for the organizers of the anti-Soviet and anti-communist campaigns which are being launched one after another.

The neo-fascist National Front, led by Le Pén, notorious for his record in the colonial war in Algeria, is playing an increasingly prominent role on the French political scene. In the 1984 election to the European Parliament the Front carried a sensational 11 per cent of the vote. Today no one any longer doubts that the ultra-Right will be represented in the French parliament. They are waging an energetic, aggressive election campaign, with an eye mainly on the RPR and UDF following. The latter in their turn are trying to retain their hold on their own supporters and to win over part of Le Pen's followers by echoing National Front slogans.

Jacques Chirac aspires to the role of leader of the opposition. His party has a ramified network of local organizations and a substantial number of seats in the National Assembly and the Senate. It counts mainly on rigid discipline, high degree of organization, and the cult of the leader. Its political and ideological credo has little in common with Gaullism from which it sprang and which stood for an active role of the state in the economy and for allowing the working people to take some part in the management of production with a view to taking the edge off social contradictions. The present leaders of the RPR have renounced many of the tenets of de Gaulle and have opted for outright pragmatism. Hoping to win the coming election, they make no secret of their desire to ensure the RPR the dominant place in the new parliamentary majority.

It has taken the Union for French Democracy, founded by former President Giscard d'Estaing, a long time to get over the initial shock of its defeat in the 1981 elections. The strife within its ranks was exacerbated by that setback and it still lacks solid unity. As before, it is not a monolithic party, but rather a conglomerate of three groups —the Republicans, Social Democrats and the Right-wing Radicals. However, the UDF leaders see in the continued disunity a certain advantage inasmuch as it could enable them to win over a broader spectrum of the electorate. Giscard d'Estaing is a strong advocate of joint action by the opposition as the main precondition of its victory in March. He is taking an active part in the political struggle and counts on playing a prominent role in the future.

The upper echelons of both parties are vigorously backed by the young generation, which makes no secret of its far-reaching political ambitions. In the RPR its views are expressed by the party's general secretary Jacques Toubon, noted for the brusque and even aggressive tone of his public pronouncements, and in the UDF by general secretary of the Republicans François Léotard. Like Toubon, Léotard is an avowed supporter of the broadest "liberalism," although for tactical reasons he does not make it clear what exactly he means by the term. Besides ultra-conservative views, they have a common ground in anti-communism and anti-Sovietism.

Another problem that has evoked lively debates among the Rights is that of the "coexistence" of the present President with the new Right-wing parliamentary majority in the event of a Right-wing electoral victory in March. For his part, François Mitterrand is firmly resolved to remain in the presidency until the end of his term in 1988 whatever the outcome of the voting.

As regards a possible agreement between the President and the RPR and UDF that would open the way to the formation of a government, a good many difficulties can be foreseen. While Chirac and Giscard d'Estaing do not exclude such a possibility, the third contender for the role of opposition leader, former Prime Minister, Raymond Barre, rejects any such prospect. In an interview to L'Express, he unambiguously declared he was against such "coexistence."

Barre's proposals for the economic sphere are basically in line with principles common to the entire opposition. At the same time, he is opposed to measures that could bring about sharp changes in the economy, and does not approve of the plans to denationalize all enterprises and banks placed under government control since 1945. His moderation and competence appeal to a substantial part of the electorate. It is noteworthy that opinion polls give Barre a higher popularity rating than other RPR and UDF leaders. One weak spot in his position is that he lacks the backing of a ramified party structure. The ex-Premier does not belong to any of the opposition groups, preferring to remain "above the political battle."

The "coexistence" problem is brought into the focus of the political and ideological struggle also by the above-mentioned reform of the electoral system. Now each party contests the elections under its own banner. This may lead in the foreseeable future to a total restructuring of the existing multi-party system—its replacement by a bi-polar political setup, such as that in the United States, Britain or the F.R.G., where two major coalitions capable of securing for themselves a stable majority alternate in government. This would mean, writes Maurice Duverger, who is close to the Socialist Party, relegating to the background the so-called "extremist elements," meaning primarily the Communists. By its consistent defence of the interests of the working people the French Communist Party is an obstacle to such political manipulation.

The opposition is devoting much attention also to its foreign policy programme. So far, the contours of this policy are vague. Behind the verbal assurances of dedication to the interests of France and its independence, it is difficult to discern the position of the RPR and UDF on specific issues. For instance, what the opposition leaders' attitude is to the U.S. "star wars" programme, which is one of the key problems today. President Mitterrand and the government have rejected the Strategic Defence Initiative. The French leaders have repeatedly declared that militarization of outer space would undermine stability and aggravate the international situation, which is something Paris does not want.

On the other hand, there are influential forces within the opposition that are in favour of SDI. It is difficult to understand what prompted RPR leader Jacques Chirac, for instance, to come out in support of these dangerous plans. Do they really want France, like Britain and the F.R.G., to be drawn into Washington's dangerous gambles? Surely it is obvious that realization of SDI runs counter to France's national interests, including its security interests about which the Mayor of Paris professes to be concerned.

So far, former President Giscard d'Estaing adheres to a reserved position on SDI. As regards Barre, he warns the European countries against harbouring the illusion that the "star wars" programme would, as Washington avers, lead to renunciation of nuclear weapons in general. European security, the former Prime Minister holds, will be pivoted on nuclear deterrence for a long time to come.

The present world situation demands of all political leaders, whether in the opposition or in government, a responsible, considered approach to the problems of war and peace. Much will depend for them on the extent to which they are prepared to subordinate narrow party interests to the interests of the country and of the world community as a whole.

■

IN THE TOWN SQUARE OF CAVRIAGO

VASILY LISITSYN

For many years a bust of Lenin has adorned the main square of the Italian town of Cavriago. And thereby hangs a tale.

First, a little history. In 1919 in his speech "Founding of the Communist International," Lenin praised a resolution passed by Cavriago workers in support of Russian "Sovietisti." He said that in the socialist newspaper Avanti he had read an item from "a small locality called Cavriago (probably a remote spot because it cannot be located on the map)." Simply because the truth about the October Revolution in Russia had reached so remote a place, he concluded that "the Italian people are on our side."

The Cavriago bust is one of the few sculptures of Lenin done during his lifetime. It was made at the Lugansk (now Voroshilovgrad) locomotive works in 1922. When the nazis occupied the Ukraine two decades later, they sent the bust to Italy as a trophy. However, members of the Italian Resistance rescued it and in 1945 it was handed over to the Soviet Embassy in Rome. During the centenary of Lenin's birth the bust was presented to the commune of Cavriago.

Inscriptions on the bust, documents from archives and the testimony of people involved in making the sculpture and their families helped me to identify the craftsmen from the Lugansk works who fashioned it, and, indeed, trace its history.

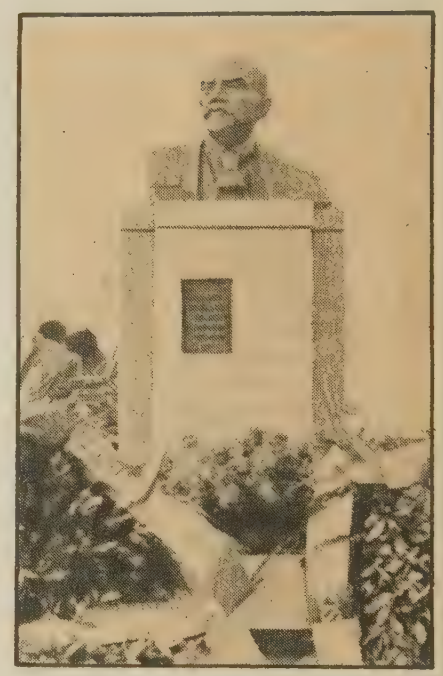
On March 1, 1972, Pravda carried a dispatch from its Rome correspondent Nikolai Prozhogin entitled "In Cavriago Today." He wrote: "It would be curious to know who made the bust and who the Italian patriots were who risked their lives to rescue and preserve it. With Rodolfo Curti, secretary of the local branch of the Italy-U.S.S.R. Society, we carefully examined the bust from every angle, hoping to find the answer. It looked as if there was little hope of getting anywhere, but then we spotted several pinmarks underneath and, having carefully cleaned away the dirt, deciphered an inscription in Russian, which said that it had been worked by one I. Borunov. The Cavriago comrades begged me to tell Pravda about this surprise find."

Clue

The article provided an answer to one of the mysteries, the identity of the sculptor—Ivan Borunov. Born in Kaluga in January 1853, he wrote to Leo Tolstoy on November 18, 1906: "I myself belong to the working class and have been working since the age of 12 (I am now 53), either as an apprentice in a brutal ethos, on the railways or in factories, and have seen for myself that non-resistance to evil, by which I mean the clublaw of the bosses and factory and railway managers, spells still greater bondage for us and our spirits more broken. I have seen enough and gone through enough to realize that this is so."

Borunov had a hard life. Time and again he was harassed by the authorities, because of conflicts with management, and had to move from place to place with his large family. He lived in Moscow, Kovrovo, Murom, and Penza, worked at the Kramatorskaya, Nikitovka, and Kupyansk railway stations and was employed at a factory in Yuzovka (now Donetsk), before he eventually settled in Lugansk, where for 30-odd years he worked as a patternmaker at the local locomotive works. While here, he learned of the Great October Revolution of 1917. In Lugansk, he gained a reputation as a sculptor and artist, who did busts of Alexander Pushkin and the distinguished Ukrainian poet Taras Shevchenko, and made a copy of Ilya Repin's famous painting, "The Zaporozhye Cossacks."

In early 1922 the local committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) resolved to erect a monument to Lenin in Lugansk. The committee's secretary Z.F. Lyapin sent committee member Y. A. Istomin to Kharkov, then the capital of the Ukraine, to find a model for the intended sculpture. Istomin returned with a small bust and works manager I. I. Shmyrov was asked to find a person capable of making a life-size copy. Borunov's bust, however, is an original work of art in its own right.



Monument to Lenin in Cavriago.

How many people were involved in casting the bust? Each meeting with the dozens of citizens of Voroshilovgrad who worked in the copper foundry at the locomotive works in the 1920s and early 1930s, provided us with invaluable clues. With their help, we identified three men who had actually cast the bust—Sergei Korneyev, Grigory Yakovlev and Grigory Vigovsky. From what we were told, everyone employed in the copper foundry—moulders, foundrymen, stokers, smelters and their

assistants alike—had had a share in the work.

Works manager Shmyrov and the local Communist Party cell appointed Nikita Kozhukhar, a member of the Communist Party from May 1917, to supervise the casting. He recollected all those involved with great warmth, adding that as soon as they learned of the assignment they showed enormous enthusiasm and, though often tired and hungry, joined in the work at the end of their shifts.

After prolonged painstaking research, we identified the moulders. They were Georgy Kitsiyev (1878-1954) and Pyotr Ivonin (1895-1956), a Communist Party member from May 1917, who fought in the Civil War as an artillery commander aboard the Voroshilov Armoured Train, later helped to organize the Luganskstroy building organization, became a political worker and was subsequently active in the last war.

Documents in the archives also told us when the bust was made and when it was unveiled in Lugansk. The first item was a clipping from the local newspaper, the Lugansk Pravda, dated June 8, 1922. It described a trade union conference at the works, where on May 27 that year, N. Tretyakov presented the report of the works TU committee. In it he stressed the adverse conditions facing them during all the seven months of the committee's existence, when it "was necessary to concentrate fully on apportioning out the meagre resources provided by the works management amongst personnel really in need. The TU committee helped supply personnel with food and clothing, reserved plots for kitchen gardens, and organized crèches to allow women workers to leave their children in good care. Currently the TU committee is busy equipping a trade school.... It has also set up a playhouse, and laid out a garden with a bust of Comrade Lenin." We now knew that in May 1922 the bust had been in the Lenin Garden.

Further research in the archives produced the minutes of this conference which gave more detailed information. More specifically, the outline of the TU committee report said: "As regards cultural activities, it must be noted that a great deal of effort went into laying out the garden, building the open-air theatre, erecting a bust of Comrade Lenin and arranging a fountain. Two drama companies, one Ukrainian and one Russian, helped in opening the theatre and a choir was organized." The TU committee had fixed the lowest possible prices for admission to theatre and garden "to enable the people to relax in the garden after their arduous work."

Another find in the archives was the application submitted on May 10, 1922, to the Lenin Club commission for culture and enlightenment by workers of the copper foundry. It told us exactly when the Lenin bust had been made and unveiled in the garden. The application carried six signatures, those of the aforementioned N. Kozhukhar and P. Ivonin, as well as of P. Dakhno, P. Karikov, G. Shtoltser, and P. Oleinikov, who requested six season tickets for admission to the theatre "in view of the successful fulfilment... of the commission to cast a bust of Comrade Lenin in bronze, and taking into consideration the quality of the work."

Named After Lenin

These two documents are extremely significant. Despite the grimness of the year 1922, the management, Communist Party cell and TU committee of the locomotive works had vigorously striven to improve living conditions for personnel and had done their best to provide the ill-fed and ill-clad people with meagre rations and items of clothing. Concurrently a cultural centre was established in the garden. To understand what this means, one must realize what Lugansk was like immediately after the White Guards were driven out. Its industry was at a standstill, many houses were ruined, and there was no electricity. Its total cultural assets consisted of a few schools, two cinemas, and a shabby cultural club, where from time to time visiting companies gave performances.

Of course, in comparison with today, the cultural centre set up 64 years ago was modest, to say the least. However, in the conditions that prevailed in 1922, the care taken to put to rights the garden, build a fountain and a theatre and to see two companies of amateurs perform, were highpoints in the life not only of the works, but of the whole town. According to the testimony of those who cast the bust and old-timers it was cast in April and unveiled on May 1, 1922. The ceremony swelled into a mass demonstration of solidarity with the working people of the world.

In the 1920s and the early 1930s Revolution Square, where the Lenin bust stood, was the venue for all major demonstrations and rallies. The bust continued to adorn the square until 1932, when another monument, executed by the professional sculptor Boris Korolyov, was unveiled there to mark the 15th anniversary of the Revolution. The bronze bust was moved to the Lenin Garden for which it had been intended from the outset.

Since April 1970 the bust has adorned the Italian town of Cavriago, the life and struggle of whose working people have been associated with the name of the founder of the Soviet state for 60-odd years. The townspeople jealously cherish the memory of the leader of the world proletariat.

For months on end, Italian Communist Party activists kept up night-long vigils round the bust, having learned that neofascists were planning to destroy it. When the vigil was discontinued, local blackshirts crept up under cover of darkness and attempted to destroy the bust, upon which the local Communists resumed their watch. With good reason they had taken another precaution, setting up a copy of the bust while keeping the original on the premises of the local branch of the Italian Communist Party.

So the bust's story is now complete but for the period from 1942 to 1945. Perhaps this article will encourage readers in Italy to attempt to resolve this one remaining mystery.

Voroshilovgrad

"EXCLUDED FROM GENERAL DECLASSIFICATION SCHEDULE"

In our previous issue we carried a retrospect on a memorandum submitted by the U.S. top brass to the British-American Quebec conference in August 1943 envisaging the possibility of the U.S. joining forces with nazi Germany against the Soviet Union. The conference rejected the plan, but the opponents of cooperation with the Soviet Union did not abandon their design. This is dealt with in the following documentary study by LEV BEZYMENSKY.

The Balkans Again

How did the anti-communists in generals' uniform react to the decisions taken in Quebec? Were they in agreement with the U.S. and British top leaders' resolve to cooperate with Russia?

No sooner had the conferees left for home than manipulations began around the decisions that had been taken, primarily against the opening of the second front (Operation Overlord). Other moves fraught with no less dangerous consequences for the anti-Hitler coalition were also undertaken. The driving force behind them was General William J. Donovan's Office of Strategic Services.

Let us return to Memorandum 121. In his covering letter dated August 20, 1943, to General John R. Deane, secretary to the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, who was later to head the U.S. military mission in Moscow, Donovan referred to a projected operation dealt with in the U.S. submission relating to the Balkans. This operation, endorsed on September 7, 1943, envisaged stepped-up OSS action in this area, but not in line with the aim confirmed in Quebec of "cooperating with Russia." On the contrary, the idea was to capitalize on the "fears of the Balkans [sic] ruling class that the Axis will be defeated and that Soviet Europe will dominate Eastern Europe." In other words, the approach was provocatively anti-Soviet.

For example, the OSS had its sights set on Romania. There is documentary evidence that already in January 1943 OSS representative Bernard Yarrow (a whiteguard émigré whose real name was Zharov) contacted the Romanian industrialists Edgar and Max Ausnit, who in their turn got in touch with Romanian dictator Antonescu. As Yarrow reported to Donovan on behalf of Max Ausnit, Antonescu was ready to withdraw from the war if the U.S. "guaranteed Romanian independence."

Donovan continued his soundings. He instructed Allen Dulles, then head of the European network of the OSS, to clarify the Ausnit-Antonescu proposal. Dulles reported that the Romanian side wanted nothing more nor less than the "frontiers of pre-1940 to be preserved" and the "previous orientation on cooperation with democratic governments of the West to be returned."

The offices of Max Ausnit, the prewar Romanian steel king, occupied a multistorey building of architecture typical of the thirties which still stands on one of Bucharest's central thoroughfares. He and his family owned numerous iron and steel and engineering works. Edgar Ausnit emigrated to the United States. Though formally under arrest, Max remained in Romania and had direct connections with Antonescu.

When not long ago I told the well-known Romanian historian and publicist Dr Eugen Preda about the Donovan-Ausnit connection, he observed with some irony:

"General Donovan did not know his clients very well. The Ausnits were notoriously pro-British. They were stockholders of the Vickers-Armstrong war industry concern. Considering the sharp rivalry between the British and U.S. secret services in the Balkans, the U.S. could hardly count on any particular dividends from the Ausnit connection. Incidentally, the Ausnits were not the only ones to orient on the West. Recall if only the Romanian soundings made in Madrid in late 1943."

What was Dr Preda referring to? In November 1943 first secretary of the Romanian Embassy in Madrid Grigoriu had secret negotiations with Carlton J.H. Hayes, the U.S. ambassador, on behalf of Antonescu. Formally abiding by allied agreements, Hayes reiterated the demand for unconditional surrender, adding, however, that in this way the "occupation of all of Romania" by the Soviet forces could be avoided. Antonescu replied that he would agree to this only after Anglo-American troops had landed in the Balkans and entered Romania. The same line was pursued by the Romanian ambassador to Turkey, Cretzianu, whom Ion and Mihai Antonescu had sent to Ankara in May 1943. The dictator and his foreign minister instructed Cretzianu to urge the Western allies to land in the Balkans, while the leader of the bourgeois "opposition" Iuliu Maniu asked him to inform the allies that everything was ready to receive them and that Romania would go over to their side as soon as the British and American troops reached the Danube.

In other words, the design of both the Antonescu clique and the bourgeois opposition was to preserve their tottering regime by getting the U.S. and Britain to opt for the "Balkan variant." According to Cretzianu, Antonescu believed that the U.S. and Britain

> "were more concerned with preventing a Soviet invasion of Europe than with doing away with the nazi regime."

Thus, war criminal Antonescu felt that his views were shared in the Western camp. But his expectations were not fated to materialize. Realism in appraising the outlook for the war gained the

Continued from our previous issue.

upper hand among the Western allies. The "Balkan variant" was dropped.

The Istanbul Talks

The machinations of the opponents of cooperation among the three great powers after Quebec were not confined to the Balkans. In the autumn of 1943 Donovan went to Cairo and to Istanbul, where the U.S. intelligence network Cereus was centred. The purpose of the system was "to penetrate Germany, Czechoslovakia, Austria and Hungary" (as was indicated in the report of the OSS Istanbul station for the period from May 2, 1943, to September 14, 1944, signed by station chief Archibald F. Coleman).

The OSS chief was drawn to Istanbul also for another reason. He was not only interested in intelligence-gathering (in which he again displayed amazing carelessness, for the central figure in Cereus turned out to be a nazi agent). He also sought to open a communications channel to the ruling circles and opposition groups in Germany. It is indicative that Memorandum 121 spoke openly of the establishment of a new German government with which the U.S. and Britain could cooperate.

New Times has already examined the purpose of the Istanbul contacts (see our issues Nos. 30 and 31 for 1985), in particular the trip made there in July 1943 by Count Helmuth James von Moltke, an emissary of the conspirators in Germany, who brought with him a programme of agreement with the U.S. and Britain and their occupation of Germany while the Wehrmacht would continue its resistance to the Soviet offensive. The proposals were addressed to Donovan, whom von Moltke had known before the war. We also wrote about the American counter-proposals to the German "oppositionists." These proposals were brought to Istanbul by OSS emissary Theodore A. Morde and handed over to the German ambassador Franz von Papen at a secret meeting in October 1943.

At first glance Morde's proposals (see New Times No. 31, 1985) appear to be outrageous and even incredible: division of spheres of influence among the U.S., Britain and Germany, recognition of German domination over continental Europe, including Poland, the Baltic states and the Ukraine, prevention of the entry of Soviet troops into Germany and the creation of a world post-war triumvirate consisting of the U.S., Britain and Germany. In the light of Memorandum 121, however, these proposals have a logic of their own. If a "suitable government" was to be found in Germany, it had to be offered, as the Memorandum put it, "terms somewhat conciliatory in character, on condition the nazis and the generals be swept out of power."

The Donovan-Morde proposals were far-reaching indeed. For instance, the idea of recognizing German domination over the European continent went farther than Donovan's own memorandum. But there is only a seeming contradiction here. This will be clear from a closer examination of the Papen-OSS talks.

What Papen Proposed

Having heard out Morde, the nazi diplomat assured him that Germany did not seek political supremacy in Europe and said he personally "thoroughly approved of a Federation of the European States" in which he felt "Germany should be permitted a role of leadership in the economics of Europe." Austria would remain in the Reich. The Sudetenland would be granted autonomy. Poland's western frontiers would be those of 1914. And the Ukraine "should perhaps be made an independent state, allied by common treaty with Europe" and not "under any Asiatic influence." As for markets, Papen said that in the postwar Europe there should be "no fight between Germany and America," inasmuch as Germany needed American motorcars and the U.S., German chemicals.

It was as if Papen had read Memorandum 121 and had supplied Donovan with arguments for the "third" and "second" alternatives set forth in it. Let us return once again to Donovan's sinister alternatives.

The reader may recall that the Memorandum spoke in the first place of turning "against Russia the full power of an undefeated Germany." Secondly, of a policy of postponement of the opening of the second front and of a separate deal with some sort of German government. The question of who would go into such a government—the German generals or the "centre-socialist" politicians—was left open. In any event, they were to prevent the entry of Soviet troops into Germany. Donovan clearly intended to scare Roosevelt by drawing the following picture of the prospects:

> "The disintegration of German civil authority, and of the German army on the Eastern Front (as the result of defeats by the Russians, the advance of the Allies, and the attempted transfer of power from the nazis to the generals, and then from the generals to a newly improvised government).
> "Outbreak of a vigorous minority group of German Communists and Communist sympathizers.
> "An almost unopposed westward march of the Russians in force considerably greater than that of the Anglo-Americans. An unfavourable bargaining position of the Western Allies, in spite of any practicable reenforcement, and possibly an actual conflict with the stronger Soviet forces."

Now let us hear what Franz von Papen had to say. Here is what he told the American emissary in October 1943 (according to a record of the talk submitted by Donovan to the President):

> "He said he himself knew, and that it was known by the German people, that they had no hope of winning the war; further, that even the nazis knew it. He warned that the nazis were still capable of tricks, and suggested it was even possible that when Russia reached the point of invading German territory, some 'Red' general might try to pull a coup d'état and, salvaging what he could

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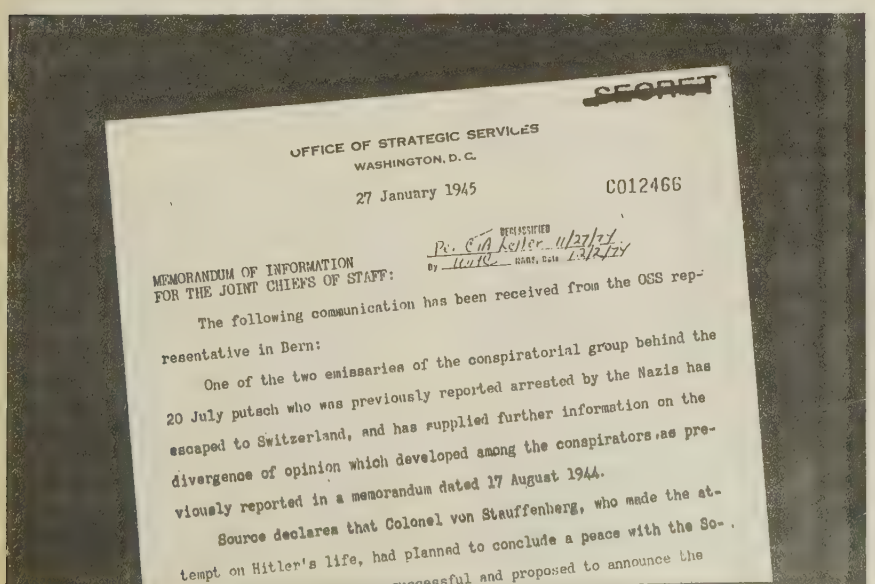
OSS document about Stauffenberg.



SECRET

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES
WASHINGTON, D. C.

27 January 1945 C012466

MEMORANDUM OF INFORMATION FOR THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF:

Declassified Pr. E.O. Keller 11/27/74 By Nara, Date 12/27/74

The following communication has been received from the OSS representative in Bern:

One of the two emissaries of the conspiratorial group behind the 20 July putsch who was previously reported arrested by the Nazis has escaped to Switzerland, and has supplied further information on the divergence of opinion which developed among the conspirators as previously reported in a memorandum dated 17 August 1944.

Source declares that Colonel von Stauffenberg, who made the attempt on Hitler's life, had planned to conclude a peace with the So-

successful and proposed to announce the

> of the German army, make a deal with the Russians and go over to their side in order to share in the Communist sweep of Europe. He said this 'could' happen one day! That was why they must have an immediate peace, as soon as it could be arranged, to forestall such a catastrophe, that would not only cause ruin to the German people and Europe, but also to America's and England's aims and desires."

Here too Papen was as good as supplying Donovan with arguments. True, he did so crudely and foolishly—where would he have found "Red" generals in the Wehrmacht? The nazi diplomat and former Reichschancellor was harping on the same old anti-communist theme, holding up the bogey of the spread of communism in Germany. During his talk with Morde, Papen urged the U.S. and Britain to "keep an armed force in Europe for a long period" in the hope that in conditions of peace Germany would be able to preserve armed forces to protect its "east wall" against the Russians. "Such a guard would have to be maintained to save Europe" and this would be Germany's contribution to the common cause.

Nothing short of a project for admitting Germany to a future NATO!

So the bargaining went on. When, however, Theodore Morde tried to get written assurances from Papen, that experienced intelligence operator began to talk about the difficulty of removing Hitler and persuading the Germans of the need to change horses in midstream. He insisted on U.S. and Britain giving official confirmation of their promise to conclude peace with the new government.

The talks ended with Papen giving Morde a secret code with which the Americans could contact him through Cereus agent Alexander Rüstow (who incidentally was coauthor of the Moltke document). Morde went back to Washington where Donovan sent his report with a covering letter and a positive recommendation to Roosevelt. The President not only declined to receive Morde but ordered his foreign passport withdrawn.

It will be remembered that this was at the end of October 1943 when the Teheran conference was in the offing. And if Memorandum 121 was not officially endorsed in Quebec, now the President, preparing for Teheran, vigourously pushed the second front issue and steered a course towards improving commercial and combat cooperation with the U.S.S.R.

Not Only in Istanbul

Talks behind the back of the Soviet Union were held not only in Istanbul. For instance, Allen Dulles, who had long shared Donovan's views, carried out in Berne in early 1943 an extensive operation to sound out "possibilities" in Germany. If Donovan in Istanbul probed these possibilities through agents of Canaris and his political milieu, Dulles extended his feelers to the centre of the nazi power structure—to the top echelon of the SS and its foreign intelligence service (Walter Schellenberg). As has been established, the initiative in the negotiations, which were held in the beginning of 1943, was Dulles's, and his patrners in the talks, Prince Max Egon Hohenlohe and SS Hauptsturmfuehrer Reinhard Spitzy, went to Berne with Schellenberg's consent.

The content of the talks is known from materials published in the press (including our own journal). And if until now some people might have wondered why the head of the European bureau of the OSS could have given his negotiating partners such promises as less stringent unconditional surrender terms and leaving it to Germany to "preserve law and order" in postwar Europe, in the context of Donovan's ideas they are revealed as part of the overall political picture. We find here the same striving not only to recruit agents but also to gain the support of certain German quarters.

The political purport of the talks the Stockholm station of the OSS had with SS emissaries in the Swedish capital was roughly the same. Here things went so far as direct talks, also in 1943, between American resident agents and the chief of the 6th division of the Reich Security Head Office, SS Brigadefuehrer Walter Schellenberg himself.

And finally, back to Madrid. In July 1943 one of the conspirators, Otto John, legal adviser to the Lufthansa airline, arrived here and met the U.S. military attaché, Colonel William Hohenthal. John was to recall later:

> "I said that the Wehrmacht could fight another seven years and sarcastically added that it would take a good three years before they [the Red Army] reached the Brandenburg Gate, unless we are able to end the war earlier through a 'change of regime.' He [Hohenthal] took this in his stride. Whereupon, without mentioning names, I said that 'we' could try to 'change the regime' before Christmas. But we needed support in the shape of assurances from the Allied command that the German field marshals would get the same treatment as Badoglio. I asked whether contacts could be maintained. He replied in the affirmative, gave me a secret telephone number, and promised to keep everything in the strictest secrecy."

The July 20 Conspiracy

All these facts warrant taking a closer look at that not unimportant event in the history of nazi Germany known as the conspiracy of July 20, 1944. The plot, which ended in an unsuccessful attempt

After the attempt on the life of Hitler on July 20, 1944.

to assassinate Hitler, remains to this day the subject of acrid debate and ideological clashes. Bourgeois historians try to present the conspiracy as genuine Resistance, as distinct from the underground anti-fascist struggle of which the German Communists were the moving spirit.

That the conspiracy was a would-be "palace revolution" is obvious. Involved in it were generals and other officers of the Wehrmacht, high-ranking officials of the diplomatic and intelligence services, and members of the most aristocratic families of the Germany of the time, but there was no indication of any ties with the masses, with the underground Resistance. The conspirators included only a few Social Democrats and trade unionists, and a handful of young officers sought contact with the Communists, but they were naturally in no position to change the outlook of the core of the "conservative opposition."

The heterogeneity of the conspirators has long been well known. Dulles and Donovan too were aware of it and associated their far-reaching political designs with the basic, anti-communist and anti-Soviet element. Its object was clearly formulated in Count von Moltke's proposals: a compact with the Western allies, and an anti-Soviet policy after the end of the war.

Moltke gave a detailed characterization of the "pro-Western" and "pro-Eastern" groups involved in the conspiracy. True, the picture given of the latter was clearly intended for U.S. consumption. Commenting on this, Moltke's biographers, Countess von Moltke and the British historians Michael Balfour and Julian Frisby observed, not without irony, that the aim was

> "to frighten the Anglo-Saxons with the spread of Communism in Central Europe."

That suited the OSS perfectly. A confidential report to Washington from Dulles dated January 21, 1945, sums up information obtained from the con-

spirators as early as August 17, 1944, soon after the assassination attempt, as follows:

> "Source declares that Colonel von Stauffenberg, who made the attempt on Hitler's life, had planned to conclude a peace with the Soviets if the putsch were successful and proposed to announce the establishment of a 'workers and peasants' regime in Germany. The old-line generals did not agree with this plan and continued to favour a peace arrangement with the Western Allies to the exclusion of the Soviets. They did not oppose von Stauffenberg, however, since he was the only one willing to risk his life and was the only person in a position to place the bomb. They hoped that they would be able later to direct developments along more conservative lines."

Such was the cynical stratagem of the "old-line generals" who readily sacrificed a courageous patriot and once again sought to frighten their American partners with a "workers and peasants" regime, of which Stauffenberg was by no means an advocate.

Dulles added the proposal that the terms of German surrender be made less stringent than the unconditional capitulation Roosevelt insisted on and that the German generals who ceased resistance to the Western forces be promised they would not be called to account as war criminals. This, he believed, should be done

> "before the effects of the Soviet successes in the East create chaos in Germany."

Dulles thus concentrated on causing a rift between the U.S. and the Soviet Union. At the same time, together with Donovan, he prepared the ground for the notorious "second alternative"—a deal with the German reactionaries to replace nazism with another regime in order to prevent the German people from launching out on democratic lines of development after the war.

History's Verdict

History has passed stern judgement on the backstage manipulators. Guided by the true interests of the peoples, who demanded that Hitlerism be smashed, the leaders of the United States and Britain rose above their prejudices. In alliance with the Soviet armed forces they led their countries to victory. And the question the American military asked, "Can America and Russia cooperate?" was answered in the affirmative by life itself.

The victory of the anti-Hitler coalition was one of the supreme political achievements in human history. "Our common striving for peace has its roots in the past," Mikhail Gorbachev said in his message to the people of the United States, "and that means that we have the experience of cooperation that today could inspire our joint efforts in the name of the future."

It is not for nothing that reactionary politicians and propaganda are doing their utmost to expunge from people's memory the lessons of World War II and are seeking to belittle the positive experience accumulated during the war years. The Soviet people have not forgotten that experience. The prominent American Henry Wallace was right when he said after the war that the Russians knew that the overwhelming majority of the American people elected to the presidency four times in succession a man whose foreign policy was aimed at long and durable friendship with the Soviet Union. But the Russians also know what a fight Roosevelt had to wage in his own country. The Russians know, too, what forces tried and are still trying to undermine cooperation between the United States and the Soviet Union.

The lessons of history, the imperatives of peace and cooperation among the nations and the preservation of human civilization require that today too the dangerous plans of the enemies of peaceful coexistence be frustrated. Businesslike, mutually beneficial cooperation between countries with different social systems must prevail. ■

SCANNING THE WORLD PRESS

THE IRANIAN SCENE

FEUDING IN THE TOP ECHELON ● "WAR TO VICTORY" ● SOCIAL PROBLEMS NOT BEING SOLVED ● EXPORT OF "ISLAMIC REVOLUTION"

The amount of news coming out of Iran today is meagre. This makes all information about developments in that country the more interesting.

Choosing the Successor

Political observers stress the importance of the fact that Ayatollah Khomeini has named his future successor to the post of Faghih, the supreme spiritual and political leader of the Islamic Republic of Iran. He is Ayatollah Hussein Ali Montazeri, until recently semi-official deputy of Khomeini. True, as the New York Times observed, there is no sign that Ayatollah Khomeini, who is said to be 85, is about to leave the political scene.

The Iranian information agency IRNA has announced that Montazeri's candidature was officially approved by the Council of Experts, an elected constitutional body nominating the supreme leader of the state. The decision was publicly confirmed by Hashemi-Rafsanjani, Speaker of the Majlis (parliament).

Meanwhile the office of Ayatollah Khomeini has issued denials of rumours about a serious deterioration of his health. As proof of the falsity of the rumours, he was shown on television meeting a group of religious and political leaders. Late last year Khomeini also met army commanders.

In a letter to the Council of Experts Ayatollah Montazeri said he "wished the Imam a long life" and preferred not to occupy his place. He called on his followers to refrain from demonstrations in support of his election. The Council's decision is challenged by some prominent Shiite authorities, who say that they do not see Montazeri as possessing the virtues necessary for the supreme leader of the nation.

In the opinion of the Paris Le Monde, "backstage rivalry for the succession" reflects the struggle between various groups within the ruling Shiite clergy. "The official appointment of Ayatollah Montazeri as future successor of Khomeini," writes the paper, "would strengthen the camp of the so-called radical reformists who also have the backing of Khashemi-Rafsanjani and the majority of the leaders of the 'guardians of the Islamic Revolution.'"

When Will Common Sense Prevail?

Many of these "guardians," along with the regular army, are fighting in the Iran-Iraq war now in its sixth year. The front line runs mainly along the state border and partly inside Iraqi territory in the area "east of the Tigris." A virtual stalemate has developed. Iran has abandoned its tactics of "human waves" offensives in favour of limited operations, which has substantially reduced its losses. But, as the American CBS TV network reported in late December, Iran is again concentrating troops probably for another massive offensive. The British Observer writes that there is no agreement among the different political and military factions in Iran's leadership on strategy in the war with Iraq. The question is not whether to continue the Iran-Iraq war or not, but when to launch an offensive—now or in spring. Colonel Schirasi, commander of the ground forces, said in an interview to the Teheran paper Kayhan that limited operations "were not enough" and

Will these kids too be sent to the front before long?
Photo from L'Express (France)

declared that "the only way to achieve victory is by a broad offensive." Several high-ranking officials of the regime have recently declared their adherence to the Khomeini line of "war to victory." The press reports that new units of so-called "volunteers" are being recruited and sent to the front.

According to official figures, Iran is spending one third of its state budget on the war with Iraq. The hostilities cost the country about $250 million a month in foreign currency alone, says the French Le Figaro. But how does one measure the losses in terms of human lives? There was recently an outcry in the Majlis when parliamentary deputy Said el-Hoseini said that 300,000 people had been killed, maimed, or recorded missing in the war. Among them were boys sent to the front straight from school. Some 40,000 were taken prisoner. About three million people have become refugees forced by the war to flee from their native parts.

The Soviet Union has repeatedly made known its position on the Iran-Iraq war. Now, as in the past, it calls for an early end to the war, for a political settlement of the conflict on a mutually acceptable and just basis, at the negotiating table. Andrei Gromyko said in December 1985: "In our view, people who, contrary to all logic, call for pursuing the war to a victorious finish are not acting sensibly." The U.S.S.R. proceeds from the assumption that continuation of the war not only weakens the belligerents—Iran and Iraq—and their anti-imperialist potential, but seriously aggravates the situation in the Persian Gulf area and heightens the danger of direct imperialist intervention in the affairs of the sovereign states in the region.

War Not the Only Burden

The war is a heavy drain on the Iranian economy. Because of hostilities, devastation in the oil fields and ports, oil exports fell to 1.5 million barrels a day, compared to 2.7 million barrels in 1979. The drop in currency earnings leaves less to subsidize imports of prime necessities. "Iranians face a further decline of their living standards and further growth of inflation which topped 50 per cent in 1985," wrote the F.R.G. magazine Der Spiegel last autumn.

In general, little has changed in the country's social and economic life in the years since the anti-Shah revolution. There have been no reforms to benefit working people. Moreover, lands that had been given to landless peasants in the early post-revolutionary period have been returned to the big landowners. Many factories that were initially nationalized are now run by their former owners or other private entrepreneurs.

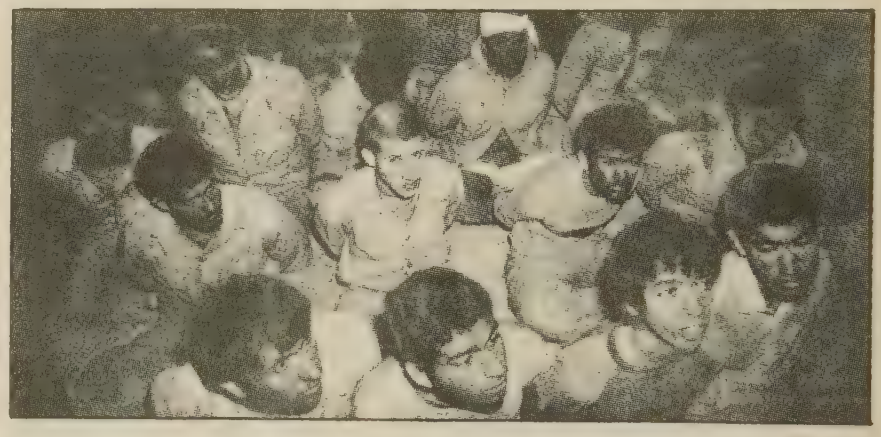
All this was virtually admitted recently by Mohsen Rafiq-Dost, Minister of the Islamic Revolution Corps. Speaking in Teheran University, he said: "The work we have done amounts to having destroyed only the top of the old, pro-American system in Iran, i.e., we have expelled the members of the Shah regime and its main accomplices from the country." But where are the broader social, democratic goals of the revolution which the Shiite clergy that headed it propounded with such zeal?

Living standards are falling. According to a Chamber of Commerce and Industry bulletin, the average real incomes of urban families in 1984 were 45,000 rials below the subsistence minimum (in 1980 they were 5,000 rials above this minimum.) There are three million unemployed in the country.

More and more Iranians are openly expressing discontent with their worsening position. According to the French magazine Vie Ouvrière, about a hundred strikes were registered in Iran in the first half of 1985. The biggest of them was at the Isfahan steel complex, which has a workforce of 25,000. All the strikes were put down.

Looking Outward

In its foreign policy the Iranian leadership is stepping up efforts to export the "Islamic revolution." Propaganda is not the only means used to that end. Some time ago, according to the world press, a 3,000-strong unit of the Islamic Revolution Corps was sent to Lebanon. A spokesman for the Iranian embassy in Beirut announced that Teheran had donated $15 million "for the development of Islamic culture in Lebanon."



Iranian prisoners of war.
Photo from Time magazine (U.S.A.)

Iran is giving massive support to anti-Afghan counterrevolutionary groups and still refuses to take part even in indirect talks with the government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. Late last year Afghan border posts were shelled several times from Iranian territory. Iranian propaganda has launched particularly fierce attacks on the internationalist assistance the Soviet Union is rendering the D.R.A. in defending the gains of its April revolution against encroachments from internal and external reactionaries.

Recurrent anti-Soviet attacks in the Iranian press and by high-ranking Iranian officials do not accord with the interests of our two countries. The Soviet Union would like to see its relations with Iran based on the principles of genuine good-neighbourship, mutual respect and non-interference in each other's internal affairs.

V. KOMAROV

TAKING UP A POINT

I do not understand why some people are opposed to our President's Strategic Defence Initiative. Like many other Americans, I give my enthusiastic support to the SDI, because it will enhance our security and make the United States invulnerable to a surprise nuclear attack. And what is wrong with that! Only those who harbour aggressive designs fear this initiative for it does, most certainly, thwart those designs.

Tom DOHERTY
Denver, U.S.A.

Our Assistant Editor-in-Chief SERGEI GOLYAKOV replies:

I assume that you sincerely believe in the validity of your argument. Moreover, like you, I also regard any nation's desire to live in greater security and protect itself from the horrors of nuclear war as absolutely natural. There is, indeed, nothing wrong with it.

Why, then, are we so vigorously opposed to the SDI? Why has this programme been rejected by France, Canada, Greece, Denmark, Australia and other U.S. allies? It cannot be said that it thwarts their plans, can it? In the U.S. itself, too, there are various views of the SDI. Quite a few distinguished politicians, diplomats and scientists, including Nobel Prize winners, have objected to it strongly.

The Strategic Defence Initiative is a far cry from what it has been presented as being. It is claimed that it will ensure a more secure and stable peace and eventually make nuclear arms obsolete. But all these promises are without substance.

The name "star wars" programme, by which the SDI is widely known, is much closer to the truth. It conveys its true aim, which is to extend the arms race into outer space and turn near-earth space into an arena of military confrontation. For it is in outer space that strike weapons with nuclear components are to be deployed. They will be detonated by computer to destroy Soviet missiles practically the moment they have been launched.

It is not my purpose to consider whether or not the development of such an extremely sophisticated, vulnerable and costly system is a workable proposition. This is something experts will decide. What I want to stress is that attempts to gain a more advantageous strategic position to the detriment of the other side cannot be qualified otherwise than as a bid for military superiority. A country planning to create an anti-missile shield and simultaneously building up its offensive weapons—MX, Midgetman, Trident-2, heavy bombers, etc.—is obviously concerned not so much about defence as the possibility of delivering a first nuclear strike and avoiding a retaliatory blow.

As you see, the picture is quite different from that presented by the SDI proponents. The implementation of this programme is bound to upset the present strategic balance and touch off a runaway arms race. As a result, distrust among nations will be exacerbated, while international security, that of the United States included, will be considerably impaired.

The conclusion is drawn from experience and the logic of the nuclear age.

Reagan's dream of building an impenetrable nuclear shield is not a new one. It has preoccupied American politicians in the past too. As far back as the 1960s, the United States had plans to establish a large-scale anti-ballistic missile system called Safeguard. However, these plans were abandoned. Experience showed that the desire of one side to create a defensive shield and thus destabilize the strategic balance in its own favour inevitably compelled the other side to take countermeasures, for it too is concerned about its security. Robert McNamara, the then Secretary of Defence, was quite right when he said, back in 1967, that if the U.S. developed an ABM system, the Soviet Union would have no option but to increase the potential capability of its offensive forces. We will not allow anyone to gain military supremacy over us. Hence in the nuclear age "defensive shields" cannot reinforce the defences or enhance the security of any country.

Awareness of this impelled the Soviet Union and the United States to conclude a Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems in 1972. The parties undertook to have only one ABM system deployment area each, leaving the remainder of their territories mutually vulnerable. In pursuance of this main principle they also undertook not to develop or deploy sea-, air-, space-, or mobile land-based ABM systems or components.

The ABM treaty has now been effective for over ten years, and its stabilizing role has been universally acknowledged. It has proved a reliable impediment to the arms race and has enabled the two sides to hold negotiations on arms reduction. Why does the United States now want to renounce the accords reached in the past?

The impression is that Washington again harbours a delusion with regard to the Soviet Union. It seems to some that the United States has outstripped the U.S.S.R. in certain areas of technology and in the fields of computer science and radio electronics. Hence the desire, as has repeatedly been the case in the past, to exploit this "advantage" to gain military superiority. But the attempt would be futile. As Mikhail Gorbachev said in Geneva, this time too an answer will be found. It will be effective, less costly and more quickly implemented.

But this is not our goal. We favour not competition in armaments but fair cooperation with the United States for the sake of peace. For the Soviet Union and the United States security can only be mutual. Neither your country, nor ours should try to increase its own security to the detriment of the other side. Only jointly can we advance towards this goal, seeking a way out not through modern military-technical programmes like the SDI but through mutually advantageous political solutions on the basis of equality and equal security.

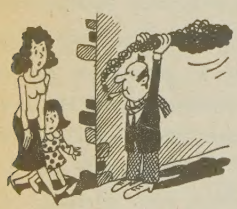
■

POSTSCRIPT

Lucrative Racket

In Washington knowing the right people can be converted into ready cash, and, according to AP, some U.S. Administration former VIPs are selling their connections and influence to foreigners seeking access to senior officials. Christopher Lehman, brother of the Navy Secretary and formerly on the staff of the National Security Council, uses his clout for a consideration to wangle allocations for UNITA rebels. This anti-popular Angolan grouping lines the pockets of Washington lobbyists to the tune of $600,000 a year. Representative Marcy Kaptur has commented that former high-ranking "servants of the people" were "making a fast buck" out of experience and expertise acquired at the taxpayers' expense.

300,000 Victims



According to a French TV programme, tobacco smoke causes some 300,000 deaths in Western Europe annually. This figure includes non-smokers associating with smokers, as medical research has shown their blood to contain the same end products as those of smokers. Their children also suffer, and are ill far more often than those of non-smokers. Though France has a law protecting non-smokers, the programme noted, it is seldom enforced.

Cry "Fire!", Not "Help!"

Richard Shapiro, New York police crime prevention chief, has described a case where 200 people looked on indifferently while a woman was viciously battered, according to the F.R.G. magazine Der Spiegel. Shapiro's assistants have long been advising assault victims not to cry "Help!" which scares people off the streets, but "Fire!" which makes them run out of doors albeit more from curiosity than fear.

Juveniles Third-Degreed

Louis le Grange, Minister of Law and Order, has denied a South African Cape Times report that children have been incarcerated in the country's jails as political prisoners along with adults. Civil rights fighter Anar Ismail rebutted the denial, saying that he had been held together with 14 to 16 year-olds, whom jailers third-degreed almost daily.

Vanity Fair

Would you like to "become a legend in your own time"? It's easy if you give your name to a large diamond purchased in advance for a mere $2 million from the firm Neiman Marcus, the London weekly Observer reports. The same firm offers another way of gratifying vanity—acquiring a sofa, cushion and pallet stuffed with a million dollars' worth of shredded banknotes that have been withdrawn from circulation. His "King" set costs $1,200, her "Queen" set $1,000.

Bottomless Well

Roughly one in three British TV programmes broadcast after 6 p.m. when children are at home is either about violence or shows scenes of violence. This causes public concern, and BBC chiefs have asked viewers to send in their comments. However, Mrs Mary Whitehouse, president of the National Association of Televiewers and Radio Listeners, observes that though the public have been writing to the BBC for years on end, their protest has as much effect as throwing a stone into a bottomless well.

Ageing Nation

In the 1970s U.S. birth rates fell drastically, while the number of citizens of 65 years of age has grown by nearly 20 per cent. Other age groups have increased by only 5 per cent, the Chicago Tribune notes. One in eight Americans is now 65 and over, and it is expected that by the year 2030 one in five will be a pensioner. The U.S. is an ageing nation, the paper concludes.

Close Shave

When Sur reporter Manuel Reina published some unflattering remarks about José Francisco Ruiz, mayor of the small Spanish town of Rincon de la Victoria, the latter, the newspaper Pais reports, grabbed the correspondent by the collar, yelling "I'll knock your head off," and shook him with all his might. Only prompt intervention by passersby saved Reina's skin.

Records

To get into the Guinness Book of Records, Bruno Leunen, a young Belgian, flew from Brussels to Auckland, New Zealand, making 109 stopovers in different countries en route. The 85,623-kilometre journey took him 11 months, and his ticket with its additional flight vouchers now weighs 1.4 kilogrammes and is 13 metres long.

Drawings by V. Rozantsev.

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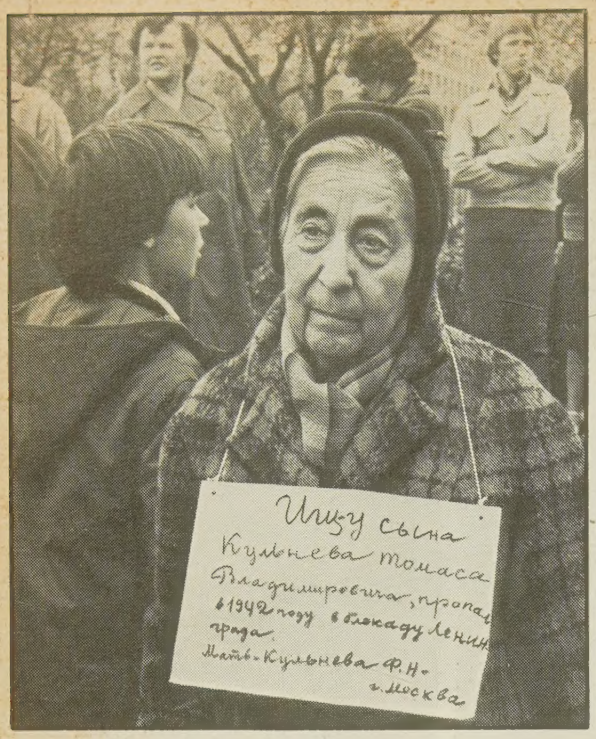

Inga Skachkova (U.S.S.R.)— **"Looking for my son reported missing in the Leningrad blockade in 1942."**

Francisco Gonzalez (Canada)— **A Nicaraguan patriot.**

Didyendu Roy (India)— **A folk dance.**

Hong Khanh (Vietnam)— **Among the bamboo shoots.**

"WORLD IN FOCUS"

PHOTO CONTEST

The photographs submitted for the 1985 contest have been examined by the jury. (The best have been reproduced in the journal in the course of the year.)

FIRST PRIZES have been awarded to FRANCISCO GONZALEZ (Canada) and INGA SKACHKOVA (U.S.S.R.).

SECOND PRIZES to HONG KHANH (Vietnam) and DIDYENDU ROY (India).

THIRD PRIZES to ROSEE and GERD GOTTSCHALK (G.D.R.), SANDRO CAMPANA (Italy) and SALAVAT SAFIULLIN (U.S.S.R.).

CONSOLATION PRIZES have been awarded to O. VALENZUELA (Nicaragua), DRAHOSLAV RAMIK (Czechoslovakia), RONALD SCHLEYER (U.S.A.) and MANFRED SCHOLZ (F.R.G.).

We congratulate the winners, thank all who sent in photographs and invite both amateur and professional photographers to take part in our photo contest for 1986, the International Year of Peace. As before, the pictures should give an idea of the everyday life, work, joys and sorrows of people everywhere and, of course, the fight for peace.

Entries can be snapshots or picture stories, black-and-white and not less than 13×18 cm in size. Each entry should come with a caption and the full name and address of the entrant.

FIRST PRIZE—a week's tour of the Soviet Union for a foreign entrant, and 300 rubles for a Soviet entrant.

SECOND PRIZE—an original specimen of handicraft art for a foreign entrant, and 200 rubles for a Soviet entrant.

THIRD PRIZE—an art souvenir for a foreign entrant, and 100 rubles for a Soviet entrant.

Entries, clearly marked "Photo Contest," should be addressed to New Times, Pushkin Square, Moscow, 103782 GSP, U.S.S.R.